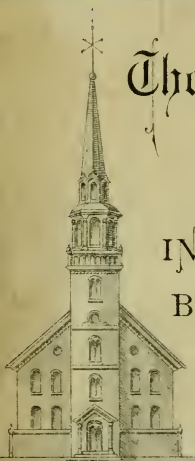


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THE
Sovereignty & Goodness
OF

G O D,

Together,

With the Faithfulness of His Promises
Displayed;
Being a

NARRATIVE

Of the Captivity and Restoration of

Mrs. Mary Rowlandson.

Commended by her, to all that desires to
know the Lords doings to, and
dealings with Her.

Especially to her dear Children and Relations,

The second Addition Corrected and amended.

Written by Her own Hand for Her private Use, and now
made Publick at the earnest Desire of some Friends,
and for the benefit of the Afflicted

Deut. 32. 29. See now that I, even I am he, and there is no
God with me: I kill and I make alive, I wound and I heal
neither is there any can deliver out of my hand.

C A M B R I D G E,
Printed by Samuel Green, 1 6 8 2.

T. Prince, Boston.
The Gift of Mrs Deborah Burnit

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**XH. 15.8-9

The Preface to the R E A D E R.

1675/6

IT was on *Tuesday*, Feb. 1. 1675. in the afternoon, when the *Narragansets* quarters (in or toward the *Nipmug* Country, whither they are now retired for fear of the *English* Army lying in their own Country) were the second time beaten up by the Forces of the united Colonies, who thereupon soon betook themselves to flight, and were all the next day pursued by the *English*, some overtaken and destroyed. But on *Thursday*, Feb. 3. The *English* having now been six days on their march, from their old quarters, at *Wickford*, in the *Narraganset* Country, toward, and after the Enemy, and provision grown exceeding short, in so much that they were fain to kill some Horses for the supply, especially of their *Indian* friends, they were necessitated to consider what was best to be done: And about noon (having hitherto followed the chase as hard as they might) a Council was called, and though some few were of another mind, yet it was concluded by far the greater part of the Council of War, that the Army should desist the pursuit, and retire: the Forces of *Plimouth* and the *Bay* to the next Town of the *Bay*, and *Connecticut* Forces to their own next Towns: Which determination was immediately put in execution. The consequence whereof, as it was not difficult to be foreseen by those that knew the causeless enmity of these *Barbarians*, against the *English*, and the malicious and revengeful spirit of these *Heathen*: so it soon proved dismal.

The *Narragansets* were now driven quite from their own Country, and all their provisions there hoarded up, to which they durst not at present return, and being so numerous as they were, soon devoured those to whom they went, whereby both the one and other were now reduced to extremest straits, and so necessitated to take the first and best opportunity for supply, and very glad, no doubt of such an opportunity as this, to provide for themselves, and make spoil of the *English* at once; and seeing themselves thus discharged of their pursuers, and a little refreshed after their flight, the very next week on *Thursday*, Feb. 10. they fell with mighty force and fury upon *Lancaster*: which small Town, remote from aid of others, and not being garrisoned as it might, the Army being now come in, and as the time indeed required (the design of the *Indians* against

The Preface to the

that place being known to the *English* some time before) was not able to make effectual resistance: but notwithstanding utmost endeavour of the Inhabitants, most of the buildings were turned into ashes; many People (Men, Women and Children) slain, and others captivated. The most solemn and remarkable part of this Tragedy, may that justly be reputed, which fell upon the Family of that reverend Servant of God, Mr. *Joseph Rowlandson*, the faithful Pastor of Christ in that place; who being gone down to the Council of the *Massachusetts* to seek aid for the defence of the place, at his return found the Town in flames, or smoke, his own house being set on fire by the Enemy, through the disadvantage of a defective Fortification, and all in it consumed: his precious yoke-fellow, and dear Children, wounded and captivated (as the issue evidenced, and following Narrative declares) by these cruel and barbarous Salvages. A sad Calastrophe! Thus all things come alike to all: No one knows either love or hatred by all that is before him. It is no new thing for Gods precious ones to drink as deep as others, of the Cup of common Calamity: Take just *Lot* (yet captivated) for instance beside others. But it is not my business to dilate on these things, but only in few words introductively to preface to the following script, which is a Narrative of the wonderfully awfull, wise, holy, powerfull, and gracious providence of God, towards that worthy and precious Gentlewoman, the dear Consort of the said Reverend Mr. *Rowlandson*, and her Children with her, as in casting of her into such a waterless pit, so in preserving, supporting, and carrying thorow so many such extream hazards, unpeakable difficulties and disconsolateness, and at last delivering her out of them all, and her surviving Children also. It was a strange and amazing dispensation, that the Lord should so afflict his precious Servant, and Hand-maid: It was as strange, if not more, that he should so bear up the spirits of his Servant under such bereavements, and of his hand-maid under such captivity, travels and hardships (much too hard for flesh and blood) as he did, and at length deliver and restore. But he was their Saviour, who hath said, *When thou passest through the Waters, I will be with thee, and thorough the rivers, they shall not overflow thee: When thou walkest through the fire, thou shalt not be burnt, nor shall the flame kindle upon thee, Isa. 43. ver. 2. and 19. He woundeth and his hands make whole. He shall deliver thee in pain-troubles, yea in seven there shall no evil touch thee: In Famine he shall redeem thee from Death, and in War from the power of the sword. Job 5. 18, 19, 20. Methinks this dispensation doth bear some resemblance to those of *Joseph*, *David* and *Daniel*; yea, and of the three Children too, the Stories whereof do represent us with the excellent textures of divine providence, curious pieces of divine work: and truly so doth this, and therefore not to be forgotten, but worthy to be exhibited to, and viewed, and pondered by all, that disdain not to consider the operation of his hands.*

The works of the Lord (not only of Creation, but of Providence also, especially those that do more peculiarly concern his

dear ones, that are as the Apple of his Eye, as the Signet upon His Hand, the Delight of his Eyes, and the Object of his tenderest Care) and great, sought out of all those that have pleasure therein. And of these verily this is none of the least.

This Narrative was penned by the Gentlewoman her self, to be to her a memorandum of Gods dealing with her, that she might never forget, but remember the same, & the severall circumstances thereof, all the dayes of her life. A pious scope which deserves both commendation and imitation: Some friends having obtained a sight of it, could not but be so much affected with the many passages of working providence discovered therein, as to judge it worthy of publick view, and altogether unmeet that such works of God should be hid from present and future Generations: And therefore though this Gentlewomans modesty would not thrust it into the Press, yet her gratitude unto God made her not hardly perswadible to let it pass, that God might have his due glory, and others benefit by it as well as her self. I hope by this time none will cast any reflection upon this Gentlewoman, on the score of this publication of her affliction and deliverance. If any should, doubtless they may be reckoned with the nine lepers, of whom it is said, *Were there not ten cleansed, where are the nine? but one returning to give God thanks.* Let such further know that this was a dispensation of publick note, and of universall concernment, and so much the more, by how much the nearer this Gentlewoman stood related to that faithfull Servant of God, whose capacity and employment was publick in the house of God, and his name on that account of a very sweet favour in the Churches of Christ, who is there of a true Christian spirit, that did not look upon himself much concerned in this bereavement, this Captivity in the time thereof, and in his deliverance when it came, yea more then in many others; and how many are there, to whom so concerned, it will doubtless be a very acceptable thing to see the way of God with this Gentlewoman in the aforesaid dispensation, thus laid out and portrayed before their eyes.

To conclude whatever any coy phantasies may deem, yet it highly concerns those that have so deeply tasted, how good the Lord is, to enquire with David, *What shall I render to the Lord for all his benefits to me.* Psal. 116. 12. He thinks nothing too great; yea, being sensible of his own disproportion to the due praises of God he calls in help. *Oh, magnifie the Lord with me, let us exalt his Name together,* Psal. 34. 3 And it is but reason, that our praises should hold proportion with our prayers: and that as many hath helped together by prayer for the obtaining of his Mercy, so praises should be returned by many on this behalf; And forasmuch as not the generall but particular knowledge of things makes deepest impression upon the affections, this Narrative particularizing the severall passages of this providence will nor a little conducethereunto. And therefore holy David in order to the attainment of that end, accounts himself concerned to declare what God had done for his soul, Psal. 66. 16. *Come and hear, all ye that fear God, and I will declare what God hath done for*

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my soul, i. e. for his life, see v. 9, 10. He holdeth our soul in life, and suffers not our feet to be moved, for thou our God hast proved us, thou hast tryed us, as silver is tryed. Life-mercies, are heart-affecting mercies, of great impression and force, to enlarge pious hearts in the praises of God, so that such know not how but to talk of Gods acts, and to speak of and publish his wonderfull works. Deep troubles, when the waters come in unto thy soul, are wont to produce vows: vows must be paid, *It is better not vow, than vow and not to pay.* I may say, that as none knows what it is to fight and pursue such an enemy as this, but they that have fought and pursued them: so none can imagine what it is to be captivated, and enslaved to such atheisticall proud, wild, cruel, barbarous, brutish (in one word) diabolicall creatures as these, the worst of the heathen; nor what difficulties, hardships, hazards, sorrows, anxieties and perplexities do unavoidably wait upon such a condition, but those that have tryed it. No serious spirit then (especially knowing any thing of this Gentlewomans piety) can imagine but that the vows of God are upon her. Excuse her then if she come thus into publick, to pay those vows. Come and hear what she hath to say.

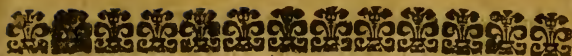
I am confident that no Friend of aivine Providence, will ever repent his time and pains, spent in reading over these sheets, but will judg them worth perusing again and again.

Hear Reader, you may see an instance of the Sovereignty of God, who doth what he will with his own as well as others; and who may say to him, *What dost thou?* Here you may see an instance of the faith and patience of the Saints, under the most heart-sinking tryals; here you may see, the promises are breasts full of consolation, when all the world besides is empty, and gives nothing but sorrow: That God is indeed the supreme Lord of the world, ruling the most unruly, weakening the most cruel and salvage, granting his People mercy in the sight of the mercifull, curbing the lusts of the most filthy, holding the hands of the violent, delivering the prey from the mighty, *and gathering together the out casts of Israel.* Once and again you have heard, but hear you may see, that power belongeth unto God; that our God is the God of Salvation, and to him belong the issues from Death. That our God is in the Heavens, and doth what ever pleases him. Here you have *Sampson* Riddle exemplified, and that great promise, *Rom. 8. 28.* verified, *Out of the eater comes forth meat, and sweetness out of the strong;* The worst of evils working together for the best good. How evident is it that the Lord hath made this Gentlewoman a gainer by all this affliction, that she can say, *'tis good for her, yea better that she hath been, then that she should not have been, thus afflicted.*

Oh how doth God shine forth in such things as these?

Reader, if thou gettest no good by such a Declaration as this, the fault must needs be thine own. Read therefore, Peruse, Ponder, and from hence lay up something from the experience of another, against thine own turn comes, that so thou also through patience and consolation of the Scripture mayest have hope.

TER AMICAM.



A Narrative of the
CAPTIVITY
 AND
RESTAURATION
 OF
Mrs. Mary Rowlandson.



ON the tenth of *February* 1675. Came the *Indians* with great numbers upon *Lancaster*: Their first coming was about Sun-rising; hearing the noise of some Guns, we looked out; several Houses were burning, and the Smoke ascending to Heaven. There were five persons taken in one house, the Father, and the Mother and a sucking Child, they knockt on the head; the other two they took and carried away alive. Their were two others, who being out of their Garison upon some occasion were set upon; one was knockt on the head, the other escaped: Another their was who running along was shot and wounded, and fell down; he begged of them his life, promising them Money (as they told me) but they would not hearken to him

him but knockt him in head, and stript him naked, and split open his Bowels. Another seeing many of the *Indians* about his Barn, ventured and went out, but was quickly shot down. There were three others belonging to the same Garison who were killed; the *Indians* getting up upon the roof of the Barn, had advantage to shoot down upon them over their Fortification. Thus these murderous wretches went on, burning, and destroying before them,

At length they came and beset our own house, and quickly it was the dolefullest day that ever mine eyes saw. The House stood upon the edge of a hill; some of the *Indians* got behind the hill, others into the Barn, and others behind any thing that could shelter them; from all which places they shot against the House, so that the Bullets seemed to fly like hail; and quickly they wounded one man among us, then another, and then a third, About two hours (according to my observation, in that amazing time) they had been about the house before they prevailed to fire it (which they did with Flax and Hemp, which they brought out of the Barn, and there being no defence about the House, only two Flankers at two opposite corners, and one of them not finished) they fired it once, and one ventured out and quenched it, but they quickly fired it again, and that took. Now is that dreadfull hour come, that I have often heard of (in time of War, as it was the case of others) but now mine eyes see it. Some in our house were fight-
ing

ing for their lives, others wallowing in their blood, the House on fire over our heads, and the bloody Heathen ready to knock us on the head, if we stirred out: Now might we hear Mothers & Children crying out for themselves, and one another, *Lord, what shall we do?* Then I took my Children (and one of my sisters, hers) to go forth and leave the house: but as soon as we came to the door and appeared, the *Indians* shot so thick that the bulletts rattled against the House, as if one had taken an handfull of stones and threw them, so that we were fain to give back. We had six stout Dogs belonging to our Garrison, but none of them would stir, though another time, if any *Indian* had come to the door, they were ready to fly upon him and tear him down. The Lord hereby would make us the more to acknowledge his hand, and to see that our help is alwayes in him. But out we must go, the fire increasing, and coming along behind us, roaring, and the *Indians* gaping before us with their Guns, Spears and Hatchets to devour us. No sooner were we out of the House, but my Brother in Law (being before wounded, in defending the house, in or near the throat) fell down dead, whereat the *Indians* scornfully shouted, and hallowed, and were presently upon him, stripping off his cloaths, the bulletts flying thick, one went through my side, and the same (as would seem) through the bowels and hand of my dear Child in my arms. One of my elder Sisters Children, named *William*, had then his Leg broken, which the *Indians* perceiving,

ceiving, they knockt him on head. Thus were we butchered by those merciless Heathen, standing amazed, with the blood running down to our heels. My eldest Sister being yet in the House, and seeing those wofull sights, the Infidels haling Mothers one way, and Children another, and some wallowing in their blood: and her elder Son telling her that her Son *William* was dead, and my self was wounded, she said, And, *Lord let me dy with them*; which was no sooner said, but she was struck with a Bullet, and fell down dead over the threshold. I hope she is reaping the fruit of her good labours, being faithfull to the service of God in her place. In her younger years she lay under much trouble upon spiritual accounts, till it pleased God to make that precious Scripture take hold of her heart, 2 Cor. 12. 9. *And he said unto me my Grace is sufficient for thee.* More then twenty years after I have heard her tell how sweet and comfortable that place was to her, But to return: The *Indians* laid hold of us, pulling me on way, and the Children another, and said, *Come go along with us*; I told them they would kill me: they answered, *If I were willing to go along with them, they would not hurt me.*

Oh the dolefull sight that now was to behold at this House! Come, behold the works of the Lord, what dissolutions he has made in the Earth. Of thirty seven persons who were in this one House, none escaped either present death, or a bitter captivity, save only one, who might say as he. *Jeb 1. 15. And I only am escaped alone to tell the News.* There
were

were twelve killed, some shot, some stab'd with their Spears, some knock'd down with their Hatchets. When we are in prosperity, On the little that we think of such dreadful sights, and to see our dear Friends, and Relations ly bleeding out their heart-blood upon the ground. There was one who was chopt into the head with a Hatchet, and stript naked, and yet was crawling up and down. It is a solemn sight to see so many Christians lying in their blood, some here, and some there, like a company of Sheep torn by Wolves. All of them stript naked by a company of hell-hounds, roaring, singing, ranting and insulting, as if they would have torn our very hearts out; yet the Lord by his Almighty power preserved a number of us from death, for there were twenty-four of us taken alive and carried Captive.

I had often before this said, that if the Indians should come, I should chuse rather to be killed by them then taken alive but when it came to the tryal my mind changed; their glittering weapons so daunted my spirit, that I chose rather to go along with those (as I may say) ravenous Beasts, then that moment to end my dayes; and that I may the better declare what happened to me during that grievous Captivity I shall particularly speak of the severall Removes we had up and down the Wilderness.

The first Remove.

Now away we must go with those Barbarous
Creatures,

Creatures, with our bodies wounded and bleeding, and our hearts no less than our bodies. About a mile we went that night, up upon a hill within sight of the Town where they intended to lodge. There was hard by a vacant house (deserted by the English before, for fear of the *Indians*) I asked them whither I might not lodge in the house that night? to which they answered, what will you love *English men* still? this was the dolefullest night that ever my eyes saw. Oh the roaring, and singing and dancing, and yelling of those black creatures in the night, which made the place a lively resemblance of hell. And as miserable was the waste that was there made, of Horses, Cattle, Sheep, Swine, Calves, Lambs, Roasting Pigs, and Fowls [which they had plundered in the Town] some roasting, some lying and burning, and some boyling to feed our merciless Enemies; who were joyfull enough though we were disconsolate. To add to the dolefulness of the former day, and the dismalness of the present night: my thoughts ran upon my losses and sad bereaved condition. All was gone, my Husband gone (at least separated from me, he being in the Bay; and to add to my grief, the *Indians* told me they would kill him as he came homeward) my Children gone, my Relations and Friends gone, our House and home and all our comforts within door, and without, all was gone, (except my life) and I knew not but the next moment that might go too. There remained nothing to me but one poor wounded

ed Babe, and it seemed at present worse than death that it was in such a pitiful condition, bespeaking, Compassion, and I had ^{no} refreshing for it, nor suitable things to revive it, Little do many think what is the savageness and brutishness of this barbarous Enemy ! even those that seem to profess more than others among them, when the *English* have fallen into their hands.

Those seven that were killed at *Lancaster* the summer before upon a Sabbath day, and the one that was afterward killed upon a week day, were slain and mangled in a barbarous manner, by one-eyed *John*, and *Marlborough's* Praying Indians, which Capt. *Mosely* brought to *Boston*, as the Indians told me.

The second Remove.

But now, the next morning, I must turn my back upon the Town, and travel with them into the vast and desolate Wilderness, I knew not whither. It is not my tongue, or pen can express the sorrows of my heart, and bitterness of my spirit, that I had at this departure : but God was with me, in a wonderful manner, carrying me along, and bearing up my spirit, that it did not quite fail. One of the Indians carried my poor wounded Babe upon a horse, it went moaning all along, I shall dy, I shall dy. I went on foot after it, with sorrow that cannot be expressed. At length I took it off the horse, and carried it in my armes till my strength failed, and I fell

fell down with it: Then they set me upon a horse with my wounded Child in my lap, and there being no furniture upon the horse back; as we were going down a steep hill, we both fell over the horses head, at which they like inhumane creatures laught, and rejoyced to see it, though I thought we should there have ended our dayes, as overcome with so many difficulties. But the Lord renewed my strength still, and carried me along, that I might see more of his Power; yea, so much that I could never have thought of, had I not experienced it.

After this it quickly began to snow, and when night came on, they stopt: and now down I must sit in the snow, by a little fire, and a few boughs behind me, with my sick Child in my lap; and calling much for water, being now (through the wound) fallen into a violent Fever. My own wound also growing so stiff, that I could scarce sit down or rise up; yet so it must be, that I must sit all this cold winter night upon the cold snowy ground, with my sick Child in my armes, looking that every hour would be the last of its life; and having no Christian friend near me, either to comfort or help me. Oh, I may see the wonderfull power of God, that my Spirit did not utterly sink under my affliction: still the Lord upheld me with his gracious and mercifull Spirit and we were both alive to see the light of the next morning.

The third remove.

The morning being come, they prepared to go
the

their way: One of the Indians got up upon a horse,
 and they set me up behind him, with my poor sick
 Babe in my lap. A very wearisome and tedious
 day I had of it; what with my own wound, and
 my Childs being so exceeding sick, and in a lamen-
 table condition with her wound. It may be easi-
 ly judged what a poor feeble condition we were in,
 there being not the least crumb of refreshing that
 came within either of our mouths, from *Wednesday*
 night to *Saturday* night, except only a little cold
 water. . This day in the afternoon, about an hour
 by Sun, we came to the place where they intend-
 ed, viz. an Indian Town, called *Wenimesset*, Nor-
 ward of *Quabaug*. When we were come, Oh the
 number of Pagans (now merciless enemies) that
 there came about me, that I may say as *David*,
Psal. 27. 13, I had fainted, unless I had believed, &c.
 The next day was the Sabbath: I then remembered
 how careless I had been of Gods holy time: how
 many Sabbaths I had lost and mispent, and how
 evilly I had walked in Gods sight; which lay so
 close unto my spirit, that it was easie for me to see
 how righteous it was with God to cut off the thread
 of my life, and cast me out of his presence for e-
 ver. Yet the Lord still shewed mercy to me, and
 upheld me; and as he wounded me with one hand,
 so he healed me with the other. This day there
 came to me one *Robbert Pepper*, (a man belonging
 to *Roxbury*) who was taken in Captain *Beers* his
 fight, and had been now a considerable time with
 the Indians; and up with them almost as far as
 Albany,

Albany to see king *Philip*, as he told me, and was now very lately come into these parts. Hearing, I say, that I was in this *Indian* Town, he obtained leave to come and see me. He told me, he himself was wounded in the leg at Captain *Beers* his Fight; and was not able some time to go, but as they carried him, and as he took Oaken leaves and laid to his wound, and through the blessing of God he was able to travel again. Then I took Oaken leaves and laid to my side, and with the blessing of God it cured me also; yet before the cure was wrought, I may say, as it is in *Psal.* 38. 5, 6. *My wounds stink and are corrupt, I am troubled, I am bowed down greatly, I go mourning all the day long.* I sat much alone with a poor wounded Child in my lap, which moaned night and day, having nothing to revive the body, or cheer the spirits of her, but in stead of that, sometimes one *Indian* would come and tell me one hour, that your Master will knock your Child in the head, and then a second, and then a third, your Master will quickly knock your Child in the head.

This was the comfort I had from them, miserable comforters are ye all, as he said. Thus nine dayes I sat upon my knees, with my Babe in my lap, till my flesh was raw again; my Child being even ready to depart this sorrowfull world, they bade me carry it out to another Wigwam (I suppose because they would not be troubled with such spectacles) Whither I went with a very heavy heart, and down I sat with the picture of death in my lap.

Aben.

About two houres in the night, my sweet Babe, like a Lambe departed this life, on *Feb. 18. 1675.* It being about *six yeares*, and *five months* old. It was *nine dayes* from the first wounding, in this miserable condition, without any refreshing of one nature or other, except a little cold water. I cannot but take notice, how at another time I could not bear to be in the room where any dead person was, but now the case is changed; I must and could ly down by my dead Babe, side by side all the night after. I have thought since of the wonderfull goodness of God to me, in preserving me in the use of my reason and senses, in that distressed time, that I did not use wicked and violent means to end my own miserable life. In the morning, when they understood that my child was dead they sent for me home to my Masters Wigwam: (by my Master in this writing, must be understood *Quanopin*, who was a *Saggamore*, and married King *Phillips* wives Sister; not that he first took me, but I was sold to him by another *Narrhaganset* Indian, who took me when first I came out of the *Garison*) I went to take up my dead child in my arms to carry it with me, but they bid me let it alone: there was no resisting, but I must and leave it. When I had been at my masters wigwam, I took the first opportunity I could get, to go look after my dead child: when I came I askt them what they had done with it? then they told me it was upon the hill: then they went and

B

shewed

shewed me where it was, where I saw the ground
 was newly digged, and there they told me they
 had buried it: *There I left that Child in the Wilder-*
ness, and must commit it, and my self also in this
Wilderness-condition, to him who is above all. God
 having taken away this dear Child, I went to see
 my daughter *Mary*, who was at this same *Indian*
Town, at a *Wigwam* not very far off, though we
 had little liberty or opportunity to see one another:
 she was about ten years old, & taken from the door
 at first by a *Praying Ind* & afterward sold for a gun.
 When I came in sight, she would fall a weeping;
 at which they were provoked, and would not let
 me come near her, but bade me be gone; which
 was a heart-cutting word to me. I had one Child
 dead, another in the Wilderness, I knew not where,
 the third they would not let me come near to: *Me*
(as he said) have ye bereaved of my Children, Joseph
is not, and Simeon is not, and ye will take Benjamin
also, all these things are against me. I could not
 be still in this condition, but kept, walking from
 one place to another. And as I was going along,
 my heart was even overwhelm'd with the thoughts
 of my condition, and that I should have Children,
 and a Nation which I knew not ruled over them.
 Whereupon I earnestly entreated the Lord, that he
 would consider my low estate, and shew me a token
 for good, and if it were his blessed will, some sign
 and hope of some relief. And indeed quickly the
 Lord answered, in some measure, my poor prayers:

For

For as I was going up and down mourning and lamenting my condition, my Son came to me, and asked me how I did ; I had not seen him before, since the destruction of the Town, and I knew not where he was, till I was informed by himself, that he was amongst a smaller parcel of *Indians*, whose place was about six miles off; with tears in his eyes, he asked me whether his Sister *Sarah* was dead ; and told me he had seen his Sister *Mary* ; and prayed me, that I would not be troubled in reference to himself. The occasion of his coming to see me at this time, was this : *There was, as I said, about six miles from us, a small Plantation of Indians, where it seems he had been during his Captivity : and at this time, there were some Forces of the Ind. gathered out of our company, and some also from them (among whom was my Sons master) to go to assault and burn Medfield : In this time of the absence of his master, his dame brought him to see me. I took this to be some gracious answer to my earnest and unfeigned desire. The next day, viz. to this, the Indians returned from Medfield, all the company, for those that belonged to the other small company, came thorough the Town that now we were at. But before they came to us, Oh ! the outrageous roaring and hooping that there was : They began their din about a mile before they came to us. By their noise and hooping they signified how many they had destroyed (which was at that time twenty three.) Those that were with us at home, were*

gathered together as soon as they heard the hooping, and every time that the other went over their number, these at home gave a shout, that the very Earth rung again: And thus they continued till those that had been upon the expedition were come up to the *Sagamores Wigwam*; and then, Oh, the hideous insulting and triumphing that there was over some *Englishmen's* scalps that they had taken (as their manner is) and brought with them. I cannot but take notice of the wonderful mercy of God to me in those afflictions, in sending me a Bible. One of the *Indians* that came from *Assosida* fight, had brought some plunder, came to me, and asked me, if I would have a Bible, he had got one in his Basket, I was glad of it, and asked him, whether he thought the *Indians* would let me read? He answered, yes; so I took the Bible, and in that melancholy time, it came into my mind to read first the 28. Chap. of *Deut.* which I did, and when I had read it, my dark heart wrought on this manner, *That there was no mercy for me, that the blessings were gone, and the curses came in their room, and that I had lost my opportunity.* But the Lord helped me still to go on reading till I came to Chap. 30. the seven first verses, where I found, *There was mercy promised again, if we would return to him by repentance; and though we were scattered from one end of the Earth to the other, yet the Lord would gather us together, and turn all those curses upon our Enemies.* I do not desire to live to forget this Scripture, for what comfort it was to me.

Now

Now the Ind. began to talk of removing from this place, some one way, and some another. There were now besides my self nine, English Captives in this place (all of them Children, except one Woman) I got an opportunity to go and take my leave of them; they being to go one way, and I another, I ask'd them whether they were earnest with God for deliverance, they told me, they did as they were able, and it was some comfort to me, that the Lord stirred up Children to look to him. The Woman viz. Goodwife *Josia* told me, she should never see me again, and that she could find in her heart to run away; I wisht her not to run away by any means, for we were near thirty miles from any English Town, and she very big with Child, and had but one week to reckon; and another Child in her Arms, two years old, and bad Rivers there were to go over, & we were feeble, with our poor & coarse entertainment. I had my Bible with me, I pulled it out, and asked her whether she would read; we opened the Bible and lighted on *Psal.* 27. in which Psalm we especially took notice of that, *ver. ult.* Wait on the Lord, Be of good courage, and he shall strengthen thine Heart, wait I say on the Lord.

The fourth Remove.

And now I must part with that little Company I had. Here I parted from my Daughter *Mary*, (whom I never saw again till I saw her in *Dorchester*, returned from Captivity, and from four little Cou-

sins and Neighbours, some of which I never saw afterward: the Lord only knows the end of them. Amongst them also was that poor Woman before mentioned, who came to a sad end, as some of the company told me in my travel: She having much grief upon her Spirit, about her miserable condition, being so near her time, she would be often asking the *Indians* to let her go home; they not being willing to that, and yet vexed with her importunity, gathered a great company together about her, and stript her naked, and set her in the midst of them; and when they had sung and danced about her (in their hellish manner) as long as they pleased, they knockt her on head, and the child in her arms with her: when they had done that, they made a fire and put them both into it, and told the other Children that were with them, that if they attempted to go home, they would serve them in like manner: The Children said, she did not shed one tear, but prayed all the while. But to return to my own Journey; we travelled about half a day or little more, and came to a desolate place in the Wilderness, where there were no *Wigwams* or *Inhabitants* before; we came about the middle of the afternoon to this place; cold and wet, and snowy, and hungry, and weary, and no refreshing, for man, but the cold ground to sit on, and our poor *Indian* cheer.

Heart-aking thoughts here I had about my poor Children, who were scattered up and down among the
wilde

wild beasts of the forrest: My head was light & dissey (either through hunger or hard lodging, or trouble or altogether) my knees feeble, my body raw by sitting double night and day, that I cannot express to man the affliction that lay upon my Spirit, but the Lord helped me at that time to express it to himself. I opened my Bible to read, and the Lord brought that precious Scripture to me, *Jer. 31. 16. Thus saith the Lord, refrain thy voice from weeping, and thine eyes from tears, for thy work shall be rewarded, and they shall come again from the land of the Enemy.* This was a sweet Cordial to me, when I was ready to faint, many and many a time have I sat down, and wept sweetly over this Scripture. At this place we continued about four dayes.

The fifth Remove.

The occasion (as I thought) of their moving at this time, was, the English Army it being near and following them: For they went, as if they had gone for their lives, for some considerable way, and then they made a stop, and chose some of their stoutest men, and sent them back to hold the English Army in play whilst the rest escaped: And then, like Jehu, they marched on furiously, with their old, and with their young: some carried their old decrepit mothers, some carried one, and some another. Four of them, carried a great Indian upon a Bier; but going through a thick Wood with him, they were hindered, and could make no hast; whereupon they took

him upon their backs, and carried him, one at a time, till they came to *Bacnaug* River. Upon a *Friday*, a little after noon we came to this River. When all the company was come up, and were gathered together, I thought to count the number of them, but they were so many, and being somewhat in motion, it was beyond my skill. In this travel, because of my wound, I was somewhat favoured in my load; I carried only my knitting work and two quarts of parched meal: Being very faint I asked my mistress to give me one spoonfull of the meal, but she would not give me a taste. They quickly fell to cutting dry trees, to make Rafts to carry them over the river: and soon my turn came to go over: By the advantage of some brush which they had laid upon the Raft to sit upon, I did not wet my foot (which many of themselves at the other end were mid-leg deep) which cannot but be acknowledged as a favour of God to my weakened body, it being a very cold time. I was not before acquainted with such kind of doings or dangers. *When thou passest through the waters, I will be with thee, and through the Rivers, they shall not overflow thee, Isai. 43. 2.* A certain number of us got over the River that night, but it was the night after the Sabbath before all the company was got over. On the *Saturday* they boyled an old Horses le (which they had got) and so we drank of the broth, as soon as they thought it was ready, and when it was almost all gone, they filled it up again.

The first week of my being among them, I hardly ate any thing; the second week, I found my stomach grow very faint for want of something; and yet it was very hard to get down their filthy trash: but the third week, though I could think how formerly my stomach would turn against this or that, and I could starve and dy before I could eat such things, yet they were sweet and savoury to my taste. I was at this time knitting a pair of white cotton stockings for my mistress; and had not yet wrought upon a Sabbath day; when the Sabbath came they bade me go to work; I told them it was the Sabbath-day, and desired them to let me rest, and told them I would do as much more to morrow; to which they answered me, they would break my face. And here I cannot but take notice of the strange providence of God in preserving the heathen: They were many hundreds, old and young, some sick, and some lame many had *Paposes* at their backs, the greatest number at this time with us, were *Squaws*, and they travelled with all they had, big and baggage, and yet they got over this River aforesaid; and on *Munday* they set their *Wigwams* on fire, and away they went: On that very day came the *English* Army after them to this River, and saw the smoke of their *Wigwams*, and yet this River put a stop to them. God did not give them courage or activity to go over after us; we were not ready for so great a mercy as victory and deliverance; if we had been, God would have found out a way for the *English*

to have passed this River, as well as for the *Indians* with their *Squaws* and *Children*, and all their *Luggage*: *Oh that my People had hearkened to me, and Israel had walked in my ways, I should soon have subdued their Enemies, and turned my hand against their Adversaries, Psal. 81. 13. 14.*

The sixth Remove.

On Munday (as I said) they set their *Wigwams* on fire, and went away. It was a cold morning, and before us there was a great Brook with ice on it; some waded through it, up to the knees & higher, but others went till they came to a Beaver-dam, and I amongst them, where through the good providence of God, I did not wet my foot. I went along that day mourning and lamenting, leaving farther my own Country, and travelling into the vast and howling *Wilderness*, and I understood something of *Lot's Wife's Temptation*, when she looked back: we came that day to a great Swamp, by the side of which we took up our lodging that night. When I came to the brow of the hill, that looked toward the Swamp, I thought we had been come to a great *Indian Town* (though there were none but our own Company) The *Indians* were as thick as the trees: it seemed as if there had been a thousand Hatchets going at once: if one looked before one, there was nothing but *Indians*, and behind one, nothing but *Indians*, and so on either hand, I myself in the midst, and no Christian soul near me, and yet how
hath

hath the Lord preserved me in safety? Oh the experience that I have had of the goodness of God, to me and mine !

The seventh Remove.

After a restless and hungry night there, we had a wearisome time of it the next day. The Swamp by which we lay, was, as it were, a deep Dungeon, and an exceeding high and steep hill before it. Before I got to the top of the hill, I thought my heart and legs, and all would have broken, and failed me. What through faintness, and soreness of body, it was a grievous day of travel to me. As we went along, I saw a place where English Cattle had been: that was comfort to me, such as it was: quickly after that we came to an English Path, which so took with me, that I thought I could have freely lye down and dyed. That day, a little after noon, we came to Squaukbag, where the Indians quickly spread themselves over the deserted English Fields, gleaning what they could find; some pickt up ears of Wheat that were crickled down, some found ears of Indian Corn, some found Ground-nuts, and others sheaves of Wheat that were frozen together in the shock, & went to threshing of them out My self got two ears of Indian Corn, and whilst I did but turn my back, one of them was stolen from me, which much troubled me. There came an Indian to them at that time, with a basket of Horse-liver; I asked him to give me a piece: What, sayes he, can you eat Horse-liver? I told him, I would try, if

if he would give a piece, which he did, and I laid it on the coals to roast; but before it was half ready, they got half of it away from me, so that I was fain to take the rest and eat it as it was, with the blood about my mouth, and yet a savoury bit it was to me: *For so the hungry Soul every bitter thing is sweet.* A solemn sight methought it was, to see Fields of wheat and *Indian* Corn forsaken and spoiled: and the remainders of them to be food for our merciless Enemies. That night we had a mess of wheat for our Supper.

The eight Remove.

On the morrow morning we must go over the River, *i. e.* *Connecticut*, to meet with King *Philip*, two *Cannoes* full, they had carried over, the next Turn; my self was to go; but as my foot was upon the *Cannoo* to step in, there was a sudden out-cry among them, and I must step back; and instead of going over the River, I must go four or five miles up the River farther Northward. Some of the *Indians* ran one way, and some another. The cause of this rout was, as I thought, their espying some *English Scouts*, who were thereabout. In this travel up the River; about noon the Company made a stop, and sat down; some to eat, and others to rest them. As I sat amongst them, musing of things past, my Son *Joseph* unexpectedly came to me: we asked of each others welfare. bemoaning our dolefull condition, and the change that had come upon us: We had Husbands and Father

Father, and Children, and Sisters, and Friends, and Relations, and House, and Home, and many Comforts of this Life: but now we may say, as Job, *Naked came I out of my Mothers Womb, and naked shall I return: The Lord gave, and the Lord hath taken away, Blessed be the Name of the Lord.* I asked him whither he would read; he told me, he earnestly desired it; I gave him my Bible, and he lighted upon that comfortable Scripture, *Psal. 118. 17, 18. I shall not dy but live, and declare the works of the Lord: the Lord hath chastened me sore, yet he hath not given me over to death.* Lock here, Mother (sayes he) did you read this? And here I may take occasion to mention one principall ground of my setting forth these Lines: even as the Psalmist sayes, *To declare the Works of the Lord,* and his wonderfull Power in carrying us along, preserving us in the *Wilderness*, while under the Enemies hand, and returning of us in safety again. And His goodness in bringing to my hand so many comfortable and suitable Scriptures in my distress. But to Return, We travelled on till night; and in the morning, we must go over the River to *Philip's Crew*. When I was in the Cannoo, I could not but be amazed at the numerous crew of Pagans that were on the Bank on the other side. When I came ashore, they gathered all about me, I sitting alone in the midst: I observed they asked one another questions, and laughed, and rejoyced over their Gains and Victories.

Then

Then my heart began to fail: and I fell a weeping: which was the first time to my remembrance, that I wept before them. Although I had met with so much Affliction, and my heart was many times ready to break, yet could I not shed one tear in their sight: but rather had been all this while in a maze, and like one astonished: but now I may say as, *Psal 137. 1. By the Rivers of Babylon, there we sat down: yea, we wept when we remembered Zion.* There one of them asked me, why I wept, I could hardly tell what to say: yet I answered, they would kill me: No, said he, none will hurt you. Then came one of them and gave me two spoon-fulls of Meal to comfort me, and another gave me half a pint of Pease; which was more worth than many Bushels at another time. Then I went to see King Philip, he bad me come in and sit down, and asked me whether I would smoke it (a usual Complement now adayes amongst Saints and Sinners) but this no way suited me. For though I had formerly used Tobacco, yet I had left it ever since I was first taken. *It seems to be a Bait, the Devil layes to make men loose their precious time:* I remember with shame, how formerly, when I had taken two or three pipes, I was presently ready for another, such a bewitching thing it is: But I thank God, he has now given me power over it: surely there are many who may be better employed than to ly sucking a stinking Tobacco-pipe.

Now the Indians gather their Forces to go against

against North-Hampton: over-night one went about
 yelling and hooting to give notice of the design.
 Whereupon they fell to boyling of Ground-nuts,
 and parching of Corn (as many as had it) for their
 Provision: and in the morning away they went:
 During my abode in this place, Philip spake to me to
 make a shirt for his boy, which I did, for which he
 gave me a shilling: I offered the mony to my master,
 but he bade me keep it: and with it I bought a piece
 of Horse flesh. Afterwards he asked me to make a
 Cap for his boy, for which he invited me to Din-
 ner. I went, and he gave me a Pancake, about as
 big as two fingers; it was made of parched wheat,
 beaten, and fryed in Bears grease, but I thought I
 never tasted pleasanter meat in my life. There
 was a Squaw who spake to me to make a shirt for
 her Sannup, for which she gave me a piece of Bear.
 Another asked me to knit a pair of Stockins, for
 which she gave me a quart of Pease: I boyled my
 Pease and Bear together, and invited my master and
 mistress to dinner, but the proud Gossip, because I
 served them both in one Dish, would eat nothing,
 except on bit that he gave her upon the point of his
 knife. Hearing that my son was come to this place,
 I went to see him, and found him lying flat upon
 the ground: I asked him how he could sleep so?
 he answered me, That he was not asleep, but at
 Prayer; and lay so that they might not observe
 what he was doing. I pray God he may remem-
 ber these things now he is returned in safety. At
 this

this Place (the Sun now getting higher) what with the beams and heat of the Sun, and the smoak of the *Wigwams*, I thought I should have been blind, I could scarce discern one *Wigwam* from another. There was here one *Mary Thurston* of *Medfield*, who seeing how it was with me, lent me a Hat to wear: but as soon as I was gone, the *Squaw* who owned that *Mary Thurston*) came running after me, and got it away again. Here was the *Squaw* that gave me one spoonfull of *Meal*. I put it in my Pocket to keep it safe: yet notwithstanding some body stole it, but put five *Indian* Corns in the room of it: which Corns were the greatest Provisions I had in my travel for one day.

The *Indians* returning from *North-Hampton*, brought with them some *Horses*, and *Sheep*, and other things which they had taken: I desired them, that they would carry me to *Albany*, upon one of those *Horses*, and sell me for *Powder*: for so they had sometimes discoursed. I was utterly helpless of getting home on foot, the way that I came. I could hardly bear to think of the many weary steps I had taken, to come to this place.

The ninth Remove.

But in stead of going either to *Albany* or homeward, we must go five miles up the River, and then go over it. Here we abode a while. Here lived a lorry *Indian*, who spoke to me to make him a shirt, when I had done it, he would pay we nothing. But
he

he living by the River side, where I often went to fetch water, I would often be putting of him in mind, and calling for my pay : at last he told me, if I would make another shirt, for a *Papou* not yet born, he would give me a knife, which he did when I had done it. I carried the knife in, and my master asked me to give it him, and I was not a little glad that I had any thing that they would accept of, and be pleased with. When we were at this place, my Masters maid came home, she had been gone *three weeks* into the *Narrbaganset Country*, to fetch Corn, where they had stored up some in the ground : she brought home about a peck and half of Corn. This was about the time that their great Captain, *Naananto*, was killed in the *Narrbaganset Countrey*. My Son being now about a mile from me, I asked liberty to go and see him, they bade me go, and away I went : but quickly lost my self, travelling over Hills and thorough *Sxamps*, and could not find the way to him. And I cannot but admire at the wonderfull power and goodness of God to me, in that, though I was gone from home, and met with all sorts of *Indian*, and those I had no knowledge of, and there being no Christian soul near me ; yet not one of them offered the least imaginable miscarriage to me. I turned homeward again, and met with my master, he shewed me the way to my Son : When I came to him I found him not well ; and withall he had a boyl on his side, which much troubled him : We bemoaned one another

G

ther

there a while, as the Lord helped us, and then I returned again. When I was returned, I found my self as unsatisfied as I was before. I went up and down mourning and lamenting : and my spirit was ready to sink, with the thoughts of my poor Children : my Son was ill, and I could not but think of his mournfull looks, and no Christian-Friend was near him, to do any office of love for him, either for Soul or Body. And my poor Girl, I knew not where she was, nor whither she was sick, or well, or alive, or dead. I repaired under these thoughts to my Bible (my great comfort in that time) and that Scripture came to my hand, *Cast thy burden upon the Lord, and He shall sustain thee, Plal. 55. 22.*

But I was fain to go and look after something to satisfy my hunger, and going among the *Wigwams*, I went into one, and there found a *Squaw* who shewed her self very kind to me, and gave me a piece of Bear. I put it into my pocket, and came home, but could not find an opportunity to broil it, for fear they would get it from me, and there it lay all that day and night in my stinking pocket. In the morning I went to the same *Squaw*, who had a Kettle of Ground nuts boyling ; I asked her to let me boyle my piece of Bear in her Kettle, which she did, and gave me some Ground-nuts to eat with it : and I cannot but think how pleasant it was to me. I have sometime seen Bear bake very handsomly among the *English*, and some liked it, but the thoughts that it was Bear, made me tremble.

tremble: but now that was savoury to me that one would think was enough to turn the stomach of a brut Creature.

One bitter cold day, j could find no room to sit down before the fire: I went out, and could not tell what to do, but I went into another Wigwam, where they were also sitting round the fire, but the Squaw laid a skin for me, and bid me sit down, and gave me some Ground-nuts, and bade me come again: and told me they would buy me, if they were able, and yet these were strangers to me that I never saw before.

The tenth Remove.

That day a small part of the Company removed about three quarters of a mile, intending further the next day. When they came to the place where they intended to lodge, and had pitched their wigwams; being hungry J went again back to the place we were before at, to get something to eat: being encouraged by the Squaws kindness, who bade me come again; when J was there, there came an Indian to look after me, who when he had found me, kicked me all along: J went home and found Venison roasting that night, but they would not give me one bit of it. Sometimes J met with favour, and sometimes with nothing but frowns.

The eleventh Remove.

The next day in the morning they took their Travels, intending a dayes journey up the River, j took

my load at my back, and quickly we came to wade over the River: and passed over tiresome and wearisome hills. One hill was so steep that I was fain to creep up upon my knees, and to hold by the twigs and bushes to keep my self from falling backward. My head also was so light, that I usually reeled as I went; but I hope all these wearisome steps that I have taken, are but a forewarning of me of the heavenly rest. I know, O Lord, that thy Judgements are right, and that thou in faithfulness hast afflicted me, Psal. 119 71.

The twelfth Remove.

It was upon a Sabbath-day-morning, that they prepared for their Travel. This morning I asked my master whither he would sell me to my Husband; he answered me *Nux*, which did much rejoyce my spirit. My mistress, before we went, was gone to the burial of a *Papoe*, and returning, she found me sitting and reading in my Bible; she snatched it hastily out of my hand, and threw it out of doors; I ran out and caught it up, and put it into my pocket, and never let her see it afterward. Then they pack'd up their things to be gone, and gave me my load: I complained it was too heavy, whereupon she gave me a slap in the face, and bade me go; I lifted up my heart to God, hoping that Redemption was not far off: and the rather because their insolency grew worse and worse.

But the thoughts of my going homeward (for we bent our course) much cheered my Spirit and

made my burden seem light, and almost nothing at all. But (to my amazement and great perplexity) the scale was soon turned: for when we had gone a little way, on a sudden my mistress gives out, she would go no further, but turn back again, and said, I must go back again with her, and she called her *Sannup*, and would have had him gone back also, but he would not, but said, *He would go on, and come to us again in three dayes.* My Spirit was upon this, I confess, very impatient, and almost outrageous. I thought I could as well have dyed as went back: I cannot declare the trouble that I was in about it; but yet back again I must go. As soon as I had an opportunity, I took my Bible to read, and that quieting Scripture came to my hand, *Psal. 46. 10. Be Still, and know that I am God.* Which stilled my Spirit for the present: But a fore time of tryal, I concluded, I had to go through. My master being gone, who seemed to me the best friend that I had of an *Indian*, both in cold and hunger, and quickly so it proved. Down I sat, with my heart as full as it could hold, and yet so hungry that I could not sit neither: but going out to see what I could find, and walking among the Trees, I found six *Acorns*, and two *Chest-nuts*, which were some refreshment to me. Towards Night I gathered me some sticks for my own comfort, that I might not ly a-cold: but when we came to ly down, they bade me go out, and ly some-where-else, for they had company (they said) come in more than

their own: I told them, I could not tell where to go, they bade me go look; I told them, if I went to another *Wigwam* they would be angry, and send me home again. Then one of the Company drew his sword, and told me he would run me thorough if I did not go presently. Then was I fain to stoop to this rude fellow, and to go out in the night, I knew no whither. *Mine eyes have seen that fellow afterwards walking up and down Boston, under the appearance of a Friend-Indian, and severall others of the like Cut.* I went to one *Wigwam*, and they told me they had no room. Then I went to another, and they said the same; at last an old Indian bade me come to him, and his *Squaw* gave me some Ground-nuts; she gave me also something to lay under my head, and a good fire we had: and through the good providence of God, I had a comfortable lodging that night. In the morning, another Indian bade me come at night, and he would give me six Ground nuts, which I did. We were at this place and time about two miles from *Connecticut River*. We went in the morning to gather Ground-nuts, to the River, and went back again that night. I went with a good load at my back (for they when they went, though but a little way, would carry all their trumpery with them) I told them the skin was off my back, but I had no other comforting answer from them than this, *That it would be no matter if my head were off too.*

The thirteenth Remove.

Instead of going toward the Bay, which was that I desired, I ~~must~~ go with them five or six miles down the River into a mighty Thicket of Brush: where we abode almost a fortnight. Here one asked me to make a shirt for her Papoos, for which she gave me a mess of Broth, which was thickened with meal made of the Bark of a Tree, and to make it the better, she had put into it about a handfull of Pease, and a few roasted Ground-nuts. I had not seen my son a pritty while, and here was an Indian of whom I made inquiry after him, and asked him when he saw him: he answered me, that such a time his master roasted him, and that himself did eat a piece of him, as big as his two fingers, and that he was very good meat: But the Lord upheld my Spirit, under this discouragement; and I considered their horrible addictedness to lying, and that there is not one of them that makes the least conscience of speaking of truth. In this place, on a cold night, as I lay by the fire, I removed a stick that kept the heat from me, a Squaw moved it down again, at which I lookt up, and she threw a handfull of ashes in mine eyes; I thought I should have been quite blinded, and have never seen more: but lying down, the water run out of my eyes, and carried the dirt with it, that by the morning, I recovered my sight again. Yet upon this, and the like occasions, I hope it is not too much to say with Job, *Have pitty upon me, have pitty upon me, O ye my Friends, for the Hand*
of

of the Lord has touched me. And here I cannot but remember how many times sitting in their *Wigwams*, and musing on things past, I should suddenly leap up and run out, as if I had been at home, forgetting where I was, and what my condition was: But when I was without, and saw nothing but *Wilderness*, and *Woods*, and a company of barbarous heathens: my mind quickly returned to me, which made me think of that, spoken concerning *Sampson*, who said, *I will go out and shake myself as at other times, but he wist not that the Lord was departed from him.* About this time I began to think that all my hopes of Restoration would come to nothing. I thought of the *English Army*, and hoped for their coming, and being taken by them, but that failed. I hoped to be carried to *Albany*, as the *Indians* had discoursed before, but that failed also. I thought of being sold to my Husband, as my master spake, but instead of that, my master himself was gone, and I left behind, so that my Spirit was now quite ready to sink. I asked them to let me go out and pick up some sticks, that I might get alone, *And poure out my heart unto the Lord.* Then also I took my Bible to read, but I found no comfort here neither: which many times I was went to find: *So easie a thing it is with God to dry up the Streames of Scripture-comfort from us.* Yet I can say, that in all my sorrows and afflictions, God did not leave me to have my impatience work towards himself, as if his wayes were upright ones:

But

But I knew that he laid upon me less then I deserved. Afterward, before this dolefull time ended with me, I was turning the leaves of my Bible, and the Lord brought to me some Scriptures, which did a little revive me, as that *Isai. 55. 8* For my thoughts are not your thoughts, neither are your ways: my ways saith the Lord. And also that, *Psal. 37. 5*. Commit thy way unto the Lord, trust also in him, and he shall bring it to pass. About this time they came yelping from Hadly, where they had killed three English men, and brought one Captive with them, viz. Thomas Read. They all gathered about the poor Man, asking him many Questions. I desired also to go and see him; and when I came, he was crying bitterly: supposing they would quickly kill him. Whereupon I asked one of them, whether they intended to kill him; he answered me, they would not: He being a little cheered with that, I asked him about the well-fare of my Husband, he told me he saw him such a time in the Bay, and he was well, but very melancholly. By which I certainly understood (though I suspected it before) that whatsoever the Indians told me respecting him was vanity and lies. Some of them told me, he was dead, and they had killed him: some said he was Married again, and that the Governour wished him to Marry; and told him he should have his choice, and that a'l perswaded I was dead. So were these barbarous creatures to him who was a liar from the beginning.

As I was sitting once in the *Wigwam* here, *Phillips* Maid came in with the Child in her arms, and asked me to give her a piece of my Apron, to make a flap for it, I told her I would not: then my Mistress had me give it, but still I said no: the maid told me if I would not give her a piece, she would tear a piece off it: I told her I would tear her Coat then with that my Mistress rises up, and takes up a stick big enough to have killed me, and struck at me with it, but I stepped out, and she struck the stick into the Mat of the *Wigwam*. But while she was pulling of it out, I ran to the Maid and gave her all my Apron, and so that storm went over.

Hearing that my Son was come to this place, I went to see him, and told him his Father was well, but very melancholly: he told me he was as much grieved for his Father as for himself; I wondered at his speech, for I thought I had enough upon my spirit in reference to my self, to make me mindless of my Husband and every one else: they being safe among their Friends. He told me also, that a while before, his Master (together with other *Indians*) were going to the *French* for Powder; but by the way the *Mohawks* met with them, and killed four of their Company which made the rest turn back again, for which I desire that my self and he may bless the Lord; for it might have been worse with him, had he been sold to the *French*, than it proved to be in his remaining with the *Indians*.

I went to see an *English* Youth in this place, one
John

John Gilbert of Springfield J found him lying without doores, upon the ground; j asked him how he did? he told me he was very sick of a flux, with eating so much blood: They had turned him out of the Wigwam, and with him an *Indian Papoos*, almost dead, (whose Parents had been killed) in a bitter cold day, without fire or clothes: the young man himself had nothing on, but his shirt & waist-coat. This sight was enough to melt a heart of flint. There they lay quivering in the Cold, the youth round like a dog; the *Papoos* stretcht out, with his eyes and nose and mouth full of dirt, and yet alive, and groaning. j advised John to go and get to some fire: he told me he could not stand, but j perswaded him still, lest he should ly there and die: and with much adoe j got him to a fire, and went my self home. As soon as j was got home, his Masters Daughter came after me, to know what j had done with the *English man*, j told her j had got him to a fire in such a place. Now had j need to pray *Pauls Prayer*, 2 *Thess.* 3. 2. *That we may be delivered from unreasonable and wicked men.* For her satisfaction j went along with her, and brought her to him; but before j got home again, it was noised about, that j was running away and getting the *English* youth: along with me: that as soon as I came in, they began to rant and domineer: asking me where j had been, and what j had been doing? and saying they would knock him on the head: I told them, j had been seeing
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the English Youth, and that I would not run away, they told me I lyed, and taking up a Hatchet, they came to me, and said they would knock me down if I stirred out again; and so confined me to the Wigwam. Now may I say with David, 2 Sam. 24. 14. *I am in a great strait.* If I keep in, I must dy with hunger, and if I go out, I must be knockt in head. This distressed condition held that day, and half the next; *And then the Lord remembered me, whose mercyes are great.* Then came an Indian to me with a pair of stockings that were too big for him, and he would have me ravel them out, and knit them fit for him. I shewed my self willing, and bid him ask my mistress if I might go along with him a little way; she said yes, I might, but I was not a little refreshed with that news, that I had my liberty again. Then I went along with him, and he gave me some roasted Ground-nuts, which did again revive my feeble stomach.

Being got out of her sight, I had time and liberty again to look into my Bible: *Which was my Guide by day, and my Pillow by night.* Now that comfortable Scripture presented it self to me, Isa. 54. 7. *For a smal moment have I forsaken thee, but with great mercies will I gather thee.* Thus the Lord carried me along from one time to another, and made good to me this precious promise, and many others. Then my Son came to see me, and I asked his master to let him stay a while with me, that I might

might comb his head, and look over him, for he was almost overcome with lice. He told me, when I had done, that he was very hungry, but I had nothing to relieve him; but bid him go into the Wigwams as he went along, and see if he could get any thing among them. Which he did, and it seemed tarried a little too long; for his Master was angry with him, and beat him, and then sold him. Then he came running to tell me he had a new Master, and that he had given him some Groundnuts already. Then I went along with him to his new Master who told me he loved him: and he should not want. So his Master carried him away, & I never saw him afterward, till I saw him at *Pascataqua* in *Portsmouth*.

That night they bade me go out of the *Wigwam* again: my Mistress's *Papoo*s was sick, and it died that night, and there was one benefit in it, that there was more room. I went to a *Wigwam*, and they bade me come in, and gave me a skin to ly upon, and a mess of Venson and Ground-nuts, which was a choice Dish among them. On the morrow they buried the *Papoo*s, and afterward, both morning and evening, there came a company to mourn and howle with her: though I confess, I could not much condole with them. Many sorrowfull dayes I had in this place: often getting alone; like a Crane, or a Swallow so did I chatter: I did mourn as a Dove, mine eyes fail with looking upward. Oh, Lord I am oppressed, undertake for me, *Isa*, 38 14

I could tell the Lord as *Hezekiah*, ver. 3. *Remember now O Lord, I beseech thee, how I have walked before thee in truth.* Now had I time to examine all my wayes: my Conscience did not accuse me of un-righteousness toward one or other: yet I saw how in my walk with God, I had been a careless creature. As *David* said, *Against thee, thee only have I sinned:* & I might say with the poor *Publican*, *God be merciful unto me a sinner.* On the Sabbath-days, I could look upon the Sun and think how People were going to the house of God, to have their Souls refresh'd; & then home, and their bodies also: but I was destitute of both; & might say as the poor *Prodigal*, *he would fain have filled his belly with the husks that the Swine did eat, and no man gave unto him,* Luke 15. 16 For I must say with him, *Father I have sinned against Heaven, and in thy sight,* ver. 21. I remembered how on the night before & after the Sabbath, when my Family was about me, and Relations and Neighbours with us, we could pray and sing, and then refresh our bodies with the good creatures of God; and then have a comfortable Bed to ly down on: but in stead of all this, I had only a little Swill for the body, and then like a Swine, must ly down on the ground. I cannot express to man the sorrow that lay upon my Spirit, the Lord knows it. Yet that comfortable Scripture would often come to my mind, *For a small moment have I forsaken thee, but with great mercies wilt I gather thee.*

The fourteenth Remove.

Now must we pack up and be gone from this Thicket, bending our course toward the Bay-towns I having nothing to eat by the way this day, but a few crumbs of Cake, that an *Indian* gave my girl the same day we were taken. She gave it me, and I put it in my pocket: there it lay, till it was so mouldy (for want of good baking) that one could not tell what it was made of; it fell all to crumbs, & grew so dry and hard, that it was like little flints; & this refreshed me many times, when I was ready to faint. It was in my thoughts when I put it into my mouth; that if ever I returned, I would tell the World what a blessing the Lord gave to such mean food. As we went along. they killed a *Deer*, with a young one in her. they gave me a piece of the *Fawn*, and it was so young and tender, that one might eat the bones as well as the flesh, and yet I thought it very good. When night came on we sat down; it rained, but they quickly got up a Bark Wigwam, where I lay dry that night. I looked out in the morning, and many of them had lain in the rain all night, I saw by their Reaking. Thus the Lord dealt mercifully with me many times. and I fared better than many of them. In the morning they took the blood of the *Deer*, and put it into the Paunch, and so boyled it; I could eat nothing of that, though they ate it freely. And yet they were so nice in other things,

that when I had fetcht water, and had put the Dish I dipt the water with, into the Kettle of water which I brought, they would say, they would knock me down; for they said, it was a flutish trick.

The fifteenth Remove.

We went on our Travel. I having got one handfull of Ground-nuts, for my support that day they gave me my load, and I went on cheerfully [with the thoughts of going homeward] haveing my burden more on my back than my spirit: we came to *Baquang River* again that day, near which we abode a few dayes. Sometimes one of them would give me a Pipe, another a little Tobacco, another a little Salt: which I would change for a little Victuals. I cannot but think what a Wolvish appetite persons have in a starving condition: for many times when they gave me that which was hot, I was so greedy, that I should burn my mouth, that it would trouble me hours after, and yet I should quickly do the same again. And after I was thoroughly hungry, I was never again satisfied. For though sometimes it fell out, that I got enough, and did eat till I could eat no more, yet I was as unsatisfied as I was when I began. And now could I see that Scripture verified (there being many Scriptures which we do not take notice of, or understand till we are afflicted) *Mic. 6. 14. Thou shalt eat and not be satisfied.* Now might I see more than ever before, the miseries that

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sin hath brought upon us: Many times I should be ready to run out against the Heathen, but the Scripture would quiet me again, *Amos, 3. 6. Shal there be evil in the City, and the Lord hath not done it?* The Lord help me to make a right improvment of His Word, and that I might learn that great lesson, *Mic. 6. 8, 9. He hath shewed thee (Oh Man) what is good, and what doth the Lord require of thee, but to do justly, and love mercy, and walk humbly with thy God? Hear ye the rod, and who hath appointed it.*

The sixteenth Remove

We began this Remove with wading over Baquag River: the water was up to the knees, and the stream very swift, and so cold that I thought it would have cut me in sunder. I was so weak and feeble, that I reeled as I went along, and thought there I must end my dayes at last, after my bearing and getting thorough so many difficulties; the Indians stood laughing to see me staggering along: but in my distress the Lord gave me experience of the truth, and goodness of that promise, *Isai. 43. 2. When thou passest thorough the Waters, I will be with thee, and through the Rivers, they shall not overflow thee.* Then I sat down to put on my stockings and shoes, with the teares running down mine eyes, and many sorrowfull thoughts in my heart, but I gat up to go along with them. Quickly there came up to us an Indian, who informed them, that I must go to Wachusset to my master, for there was a Letter come from
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the Council to the *Saggamores*, about redeeming the Captives, and that there would be another in fourteen dayes, and that I must be there ready. My heart was so heavy before that I could scarce speak or go in the path; and yet now so light, that I could run. My strength seemed to come again, and recruit my feeble knees, and aking heart: yet it pleased them to go but one mile that night, and there we stayed two dayes. In that time came a company of *Indians* to us, near thirty, all on horse-back. My heart skipt within me, thinking they had been *English men* at the first sight of them, for they were dressed in *English Apparell*, with Hats, white Neckcloths,, and Sashes about their waists, and Ribbons upon their shoulders: but when they came near, their was a vast difference between the lovely faces of *Christians*, and the foul looks of those *Heathens*, which much damped my spirit again.

The seventeenth Remove.

A comfortable Remove it was to me, because of my hopes. They gave me a pack, and along we went chearfully; but quickly my will proved more than my strength; having little or no refreshing my strength failed me, and my spirit were almost quite gone. Now may I say with *David*, *Psal.* 119. 22, 23, 24. *I am poor and needy, and my heart is wounded within me. I am gone like the shadow when it des'ineeth: I am tossed up and down like the locusts: my knees are weak through fasting, and my flesh fail-*

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eth offainess. At night we came to an Indian Town, and the Indians sat down by a Wigwam discomfiting, but J was almost spent, and could scarce speak. I laid down my load, and went into the Wigwam; and there sat an Indian boyling of Horses feet (they being wont to eat the flesh first, and when the feet were old and dried, and they had nothing else, they would cut off the feet and use them) I ask'd him to give me a little of his Broth, or Water they were boiling in; he took a dish, and gave me one Spoonfull of Samp, and bid me take as much of the Broth as I would. Then I put some of the hot water to the Samp, and drank it up, and my Spirit came again. He gave me also a piece of the Ruff or Ridding of the small Guts, and I broiled it on the coals; and now may I say with Jonathan, *See, I pray you, how mine eyes have been enlightened, because I tast-ed a little of this honey, 1 Sam. 14. 29.* Now is my Spirit revived again, though means be never so inconsiderable, yet if the Lord bestow his blessing upon them, they shall refresh both Soul and Body:

The eighteenth Remove.

We took up our packs and along we went, but a wearisome day I had of it. As we went along I saw an English-man stript naked, and lying dead upon the ground, but knew not who it was. Then we came to another Indian Town, where we staid all night. In this Town there were four English Children, Captives; and one of them my own Sisters.

I went to see how she did, and she was well, considering her Captive-condition. I would have tarried that night with her, but they that owned her would not suffer it. Then I went into another *Wigwam*, where they were boyling Corn and Beans, which was a lovely sight to see, but I could not get a taste thereof. Then I went to another *Wigwam*, where there were two of the *English Children*; the *Squaw* was boyling *Horses feet*, then she cut me off a little piece, and gave one of the *English Children* a piece also. Being very hungry I had quickly eat up mine, but the Child could not bite it, it was so tough and sinewy, but lay sucking, gnawing, chewing and flabbering of it in the mouth and hand, then I took it of the Child, and eat it my self, and favoury it was to my taste. Then I may say as *Job Chap. 6. 7. The things that my soul refused to touch, are as my sorrowfull meat.* Thus the Lord made that pleasant refreshing, which another time would have been an abomination. Then I went home to my mistresses *Wigwam*; and they told me I disgraced my master with begging, and if I did so any more, they would knock me in head: I told them, they had as good knock me in head as starve me to death.

The nineteenth Remove.

They said, when we went out, that we must travel to Wachuset this day. But a bitter weary day I had of it, travelling now three dayes together, without resting any day between. At last, after many weary

ry steps, I saw Wachuset hills, but many miles off. Then we came to a great Swamp, through which we travelled up to the knees, in mud and water, which was heavy going to one tyred before. Being almost spent, I thought I should have sunk down at last, and never gat out; but I may say, as in *Psal. 94. 18.* *When my foot slipped, thy mercy, O Lord held me up.* Going along, having indeed my life, but little spirit, Philip, who was in the Company, came up and took me by the hand, and said, *Two weeks more and you shal be Mistress again.* I asked him, if he spake true? he answered, Yes, and quickly you shal come to your master again; who had been gone from us three weeks. After many weary steps we came to Wachuset, where he was: and glad I was to see him. He asked me, *When I washt me?* I told him not this month, then he fetcht me some water himself, and bid me wash, and gave me the Glass to see how I lookt; and bid his Squaw give me something to eat: so she gave me a mess of Beans and meat, and a little Ground-nut Cake. I was wonderfully revived with this favour shewed me, *Psal. 106. 46* *He made them also to be pittied; of all those that carried them Captives.*

My master had three Squaws, living sometimes with one, and sometimes with another one, this old Squaw, at whose Wigwan I was, and with whom my Master had been those three weeks. Another was Wetimore, with whom I had lived and served all this while: A severe and proud Dame she was;

bestowing every day in dressing her self neat as much time as any of the Gentry of the land : powdering her hair, and painting her face, going with Neck-laces, with Jewels in her ears, and Bracelets upon her hands : When she had dressed her self, her work was to make Girdles of *Wampom* and *Beads*. The third *Squaw* was a younger one, by whom he had two *Papooes*. By that time I was refreshed by the old *Squaw*, with whom my master was, *Wettimores* Maid came to call me home, at which I fell a weeping. Then the old *Squaw* told me, to encourage me, that if I wanted victuals, j should come to her, and that j should ly there in her *Wigwam*. Then j went with the maid, and quickly came again and lodged there. The *Squaw* laid a Mat under me, and a good Rugg over me ; the first time J had any s ch kindness shewed me. J understood that *Wettimore* thought, that if she should let me go and serve with the old *Squaw*, she would be in danger to loose, not only my service, but the redemption-pay also. And j was not a little glad to hear this ; being by it raised in my hopes, that in Gods due time there would be an end of this sorrowfull hour. Then came an *Indian*, and asked me to knit him three pair of Stockins, for which j had a Hat, and a silk Handkerchief. Then another asked me to mak her a shift, for which she gave me an Apron.

Then came Tom and Peter, with the second Letter from the Council, about the Captives. Though they were *Indians*, j gat them by the hand, and burst

burst out into tears; my heart was so full that I could not speak to them; but recovering my self, I asked them how my husband did, & all my friends and acquaintance? they said, *They are all very well but melancholy.* They brought me two Biskets, and a pound of Tobacco. The Tobacco I quickly gave away; when it was all gone, one asked me to give him a pipe of Tobacco, I told him it was all gone; *then began he to rant and threaten.* I told him when my Husband came I would give him some: *Hang him Rogne (says he) I will knock out his brains, if he comes here.* And then again, in the same breath they would say, *That if there should come an hundred without Guns, they would do them no hurt.* So unstable and like mad men they were. So that fearing the worst, I durst not send to my Husband, though there were some thoughts of his coming to Redeem and fetch me, not knowing what might follow; *For there was little more trust to them then to the master they served.* When the Letter was come, the Saggamores met to consult about the Captives, and called me to them to enquire how much my husband would give to redeem me, when I came I sat down among them, as I was wont to do, as their manner is: *Then they bade me stand up, and said, they were the General Court.* They bid me speak what I thought he would give, Now knowing that all we had was destroyed by the Indians, I was in a great strait: I thought if I should speak of but a little, it would be slighted, and hinder

der the matter; if of a great sum, I knew not where it would be procured: yet at a venture, I said *Twenty pounds*, yet desired them to take less; but they would not hear of that, but sent that message to *Boston*, that for *Twenty pounds* I should be redeemed. It was a *Praying-Indian* that wrote their Letter for them. There was another *Praying Indian*, who told me, that he had a brother, that would not eat Horse; his conscience was so tender and scrupulous (though as large as hell, for the destruction of poor *Christians*) Then he said, he read that Scripture to him, *2 Kings, 6 25. There was a famine in Samaria, and behold they besieged it, untill an Asses head was sold for fourscore pieces of silver, and the fourth part of a Kab of Doves dung, for five pieces of silver.* He expounded this place to his brother, and shewed him that it was lawfull to eat that in a Famine which is not at another time. And now, sayes he, he will eat Horse with any *Indian* of them all. There was another *Praying-Indian*, who when he had done all the mischief that he could, betrayed his own Father into the *English* hands, thereby to purchase his own life. Another *Praying-Indian* was at *Sudbury-fight*, though, as he deserved, he was afterward hanged for it, There was another *Praying Indian*, so wicked and cruel, as to wear a string about his neck, strung with *Christians* fingers. Another *Praying-Indian*, when they went to *Sudbury-fight*, went with them, and his *Squaw* also with him, with her *Papoo*s at her back

back: Before they went to that fight, they got a company together to *Powaw*; the manner was as followeth. There was one that kneeled upon a *Deer-skin*, with the company round him in a ring who kneeled, and striking upon the ground with their hands, and with sticks; and muttering or humming with their mouths, besides him who kneeled in the ring, there also stood one with a Gun in his hand: Then he on the *Deer-skin* made a speech, and all manifested assent to it: and so they did many times together. Then they bade him with the Gun go out of the ring, which he did, but when he was out, they called him in again; but he seemed to make a stand, then they called the more earnestly, till he returned again: Then they all sang. Then they gave him two Guns, in either hand one: And so he on the *Deer-skin* began again; and at the end of every sentence in his speaking, they all assented, humming or muttering with their mouths, and striking upon the ground with their hands. Then they bade him with the two Guns go out of the ring again; which he did, a little way. Then they called him in again, but he made a stand; so they called him with greater earnestness; but he stood reeling and wavering as if he knew not whither he should stand or fall, or which way to go. Then they called him with exceeding great vehemency, all of them, one and another: after a little while he turned in, staggering as he went, with his Arms stretched out, in
either

either hand a Gun. As soon as he came in, they all sang and rejoyced exceedingly a while. And then ^{upon} he opened the *Deer-skin*, made another speech unto which they all assented in a rejoicing manner: and so they ended their business, and forthwith went to *Sudbury-fight*. To my thinking they went without any scruple, but that they should prosper, and gain the victory: And they went out not so rejoycing, but they came home with as great a Victory. For they said they had killed two Captains, and almost an hundred men. One *English-man* they brought along with them: and he said, it was too true, for they had made sad work at *Sudbury*, as indeed, it proved. Yet they came home without that rejoycing and triumphing over their victory, which they were wont to shew at other times: but rather like Dogs (as they say) which have lost their ears. Yet I could not perceive that it was for their own loss of men: They said, they had not lost above five or six: and I missed none, except in one *Wigwam*. When they went, they acted as if the Devil had told them that they should gain the victory: and now they acted, as if the Devil had told them they should have a fall. Whither it were so or no, I cannot tell, but so it proved, for quickly they began to fall, and so held on that Summer, till they came to utter ruine. They came home on a Sabbath day, and the *Powaw* that kneeled upon the *Deer-skin* came home (I may say, without abuse) as black as the Devil.

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When my master came home, he came to me and bid me make a shirt for his *Papoos*, of a holland-laced Pillowbeer. About that time there came an *Indian* to me and bid me come to his *Wigwam*, at night, and he would give me some *Pork & Ground nuts*. Which I did, and as I was eating, another *Indian* said to me, he seems to be your good Friend, but he killed two *Englishmen* at *Sudbury*, and there ly their *Cloaths* behind you: I looked behind me, and there I saw bloody *Cloaths*, with *Bullet-holes* in them; yet the Lord suffered not this wretch to do me any hurt; Yea, instead of that, he many times refresh me: five or six times did he and his *Squaw* refresh my feeble carcass. If I went to their *Wigwam* at any time, they would alwayes give me something, and yet they were strangers that I never saw before. Another *Squaw* gave me a piece of fresh *Pork*, and a little *Salt* with it, and lent me her *Pan* to Fry it in; and I cannot but remember what a sweet, pleasant and delightfull refresh that bit had to me, to this day. So little do we prize common mercies when we have them to the full.

The twentieth Remove.

It was their usual manner to remove, when they had done any mischief, lest they should be found out: and so they did at this time. We went about three or four miles, and there they built a great *Wigwam*, big enough to hold an hundred *Indians*, which they did in preparation to a great day of *Dancing*.
They

They would say now amongst themselves, that the *Governour* would be so angry for his loss at *Sudbury*, that he would send no more about the *Captives*, which made me grieve and tremble. My Sister being not far from the place where we now were: and hearing that I was here, desired her master to let her come and see me, and he was willing to it, and would go with her: but she being ready before him, told him she would go before, and was come within a Mile or two of the place; Then he overtook her, and began to rant as if he had been mad; and made her go back again in the Rain; so that I never saw her till I saw her in *Charlestown*. But the Lord requited many of their ill doings, for this *Indian* her Master, was hanged afterward at *Boston*. The *Indians* now began to come from all quarters, against their merry dancing day. Among some of them came one *Goodwife Kettle*: I told her my heart was so heavy that it was ready to break: so is mine too said she, but yet said, I hope we shall hear some good news shortly: I could hear how earnestly my Sister desired to see me, & I as earnestly desired to see her: and yet neither of us could get an opportunity. My Daughter was also now about a mile off, and I had not seen her in nine or ten weeks, as I had not seen my Sister since our first taking. I earnestly desired them to let me go and see them: yea, I intreated, begged; and perswaded them, but to let me see my Daughter; and yet so hard hearted were they, that they would not
suffer

suffer it. They made use of their tyrannical power whilst they had it: but through the Lords wonderful mercy, their time was now but short.

On a Sabbath day, the Sun being about an hour high in the afternoon; came Mr. John Hoar (the Council permitting him, and his own forward spirit inclining him) together with the two forementioned Indians, Tom and Peter with their third Letter from the Council. When they came near, I was abroad, though I saw them not, they presently called me in, and bade me sit down and not stir. Then they caught up their Guns, and away they ran, as if an Enemy had been at hand; and the Guns went off apace I manifested some great trouble, and they asked me what was the matter? I told them, I thought they had killed the English-man (for they had in the mean time informed me that an English-man was come) they said, No; They shot over his Horse and under, and before his Horse; and they pushed him this way and that way, at their pleasure: Shewing what they could do: Then they let them come to their Wigwams. I begged of them to let me see the English-man, but they would not. But there was I fain to sit their pleasure. When they had talked their fill with him, they suffered me to go to him. We asked each other of our welfare, and how my Husband did, and all my Friends? He told me they were all well, and would be glad to see me. Amongst other things which my Husband sent me, there came a pound of Tobacco: which I sold for nine shillings in Money.

Money: for many of the *Indians* for want of *Tobacco*, smoaked *Hemlock*, and *Ground-Ivy*. it was a great mistake in any, who thought I sent for *Tobacco*: for through the favour of God, that desire was overcome. I now asked them, whither I should go home with Mr. Hoar? They answered *No*, one and another of them: and it being night, we lay down with that answer; in the morning, Mr. Hoar invited the *Saggamores* to Dinner; but when we went to get it ready, we found that they had stolen the greatest part of the Provision Mr. Hoar had brought, out of his Bags, in the night: And we may see the wonderfull power of God, in that one passage, in that when there was such a great number of the *Indians* together, and so greedy of a little good food; and no *English* there, but Mr. Hoar and myself: that there they did not knock us in the head, and take what we had: there being not only some Provision, but also Trading-cloth, a part of the twenty pounds agreed upon: But instead of doing us any mischief, they seemed to be ashamed of the fact, and said, it were some *Matchit Indian* that did it. Oh, that we could believe that there is nothing too hard for God! God shewed his Power over the Heathen in this, as he did over the hungry *Lyons* when *Daniel* was cast into the Den. Mr. Hoar called them betime to Dinner, but they ate very little, they being so busie in dressing themselves, and getting ready for their Dance: which was carried on by eight of them; four Men and four

four *Squaws*: My master and mistress being two. He was dressed in his Holland shirt, with great Laces sewed at the end of it, he had his silver Buttons, his white Stockings, his Garters were hung round with Shillings, and he had Girdles of *Wampom* upon his head and shoulders. She had a Kersey Coat, and covered with Girdles of *Wampom* from the Loins upward: her armes from her elbows to her hands were covered with Bracelets; there were handfulls of Neck-laces about her neck, and severall sorts of Jewels in her ears. She had fine red Stockings, and white Shoos, her hair powdered and face painted Red, that was alwayes before Black. And all the Dancers were after the same manner. There were two other singing and knocking on a Kettle for their musick. They kept hopping up and down one after another, with a Kettle of water in the midst, standing warm upon some Embers, to drink of when they were dry. They held on till it was almost night, throwing out *Wampom* to the standers by. At night I asked them again, if I should go home? They all as one said No, except my Husband would come for me. When we were lain down, my Master went out of the *Wigwam*, and by and by sent in an Indian called James the *Printer*, who told Mr. Hoar, that my Master would let me go home to morrow, if he would let him have one pint of Liquors. Then Mr. Hoar called his own Indians, Tom and Peter, and bid them go and see whether he would promise it before

fore them three : and if he would, he should have it; which he did, and he had it. Then *Philip* smelling the business cal'd me to him, and asked me what I would give him, to tell me some good news, and speak a good word for me, I told him, I could not tell what to give him, I would anything I had, and asked him what he would have? He said, two Coats and twenty shillings in Money, and half a bushel of seed Corn, and some Tobacco. I thanked him for his love : but I knew the good news as well as the crafty *Fox*. My Master after he had had his drink, quickly came ranting into the *Wigwam* again, and called for Mr. *Hoar*, drinking to him, and saying, *He was a good man* : and then again he would say, *Hang him Rogue* : Being almost drunk, he would drink to him, and yet presently say he should be hanged. Then he called for me, I trembled to hear him, yet I was fain to go to him, and he drank to me, shewing no incivility. He was the first Indian I saw drunk all the while that I was amongst them. At last his *Squaw* ran out, and he after her, round the *Wigwam*, with his money jingling at his knees : But she escaped him : But having an old *Squaw* he ran to her : and so through the Lords mercy, we were no more troubled that night. Yet I had not a comfortable nights rest : for I think I can say, I did not sleep for three nights together. The night before the Letter came from the Council, I could not rest. I was so full of fears and troubles, God many times leaving us most in the dark, when deliver-

rance

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rance is nearest: yea, at this time I could not rest night nor day. The next night I was overjoyed, Mr. Hoar being come, and that with such good tidings. The third night I was even swallowed up with the thoughts of things, viz. that ever I should go home again; and that I must go, leaving my Children behind me in the *Wilderness*; so that sleep was now almost departed from mine eyes.

On Tuesday morning they called their *General Court* (as they call it) to consult and determine, whether I should go home or no: And they all as one man did seemingly consent to it, that I should go home; except *Philip*, who would not come among them.

But before I go any further, I would take leave to mention a few remarkable passages of providence, which I took special notice of in my afflicted time.

1. Of the fair opportunity lost in the long March, a little after the Fort-fight, when our English Army was so numerous, and in pursuit of the Enemy, and so near as to take several and destroy them: and the Enemy in such distress for food, that our men might track them by their rooting in the earth for Ground-nuts, whilst they were flying for their lives. I say, that then our Army should want Provision, and be forced to leave their pursuit and return homeward: and the very next week the Enemy came upon our Town, like Bears bereft of their whelps, or so many ravenous Wolves, rending us and our Lambs to death.

death. But what shall I say? God seemed to leave his People to themselves, and order all things for his own holy ends. *Shal there be evil in the City and the Lord hath not done it? They are not grieved for the affliction of Joseph, therefore shal they go Captive, with the first that go Captive.* It is the Lords doing, and it should be marvelous in our eyes.

2. I cannot but remember how the Indians derided the slowness, and dulness of the English Army, in its setting out. For after the desolations at Lancaster and Medfield, as I went along with them, they asked me when I thought the English Army would come after them? I told them I could not tell: It may be they will come in May, said they. Thus did they scoffe at us, as if the English would be a quatter of a year getting ready

3. Which also I have hinted before, when the English Army with new supplies were sent forth to pursue after the enemy, & they understanding it: fled before them till they came to Baquaug River, where they forthwith went over safely: that that River should be impassable to the English. I can but admire to see the wonderfull providence of God in preserving the heathen for farther affliction to our poor Country. They could go in great numbers over, but the English must stop: God had an over-ruling hand in all those things.

4. It was thought, if their Corn were cut down, they would starve and dy with hunger: and all their Corn that could be found, was destroyed, and they

they driven from that little they had in store, into the Woods in the midst of Winter; and yet how to admiration did the Lord preserve them for his holy ends, and the destruction of many still amongst the *English*! Strangely did the Lord provide for them; that I did not see (all the time I was among them) one Man, Woman, or Child, die with hunger.

Though many times they would eat that, that a Hog or a Dog would hardly touch; yet by that God strengthened them to be a scourge to his People.

The chief and commonest food was *Ground-nuts*: They eat also *Nuts* and *Acorns*, *Harty-choaks*, *Lilly roots*, *Ground-beans*, and several other weeds and roots, that I know not.

They would pick up old bones, and cut them to pieces at the joynts, and if they were full of wormes and magots, they would scald them over the fire to make the vermine come out, and then boile them, and drink up the *Liquor*, and then beat the great ends of them in a *Morter*, and so eat them. They would eat *Horses* guts, and ears, and all sorts of wild *Birds* which they could catch: also *Bear*, *Venmison*, *Beaver*, *Tortoises*, *Frogs*, *Squirrels*, *Dogs*, *Skunks*, *Rattle-snakes*; yea, the very *Bark* of *Trees*; besides all sorts of creatures, and provision which they plundered from the *English*. I can but stand in admiration to see the wonderful power of God, in providing for such a vast number of our Enemies

in the *Wilderness*, where there was nothing to be seen, but from hand to mouth. Many times in a morning, the generality of them, would eat up all they had, and yet have some further supply against they wanted. It is said, *Psal. 81. 13, 14.* *Oh, that my People had hearkned to me, and Israel had walked in my wayes, I should soon have subdued their Enemies, and turned my hand against their Adversaries.* But now our perverse and evil carriages in the sight of the Lord, have so offended him, that instead of turning his hand against them, the Lord feeds & nourishes them up to be a scourge to the whole Land.

5. Another thing that I would observe is, the strange providence of God in turning things about when the Indians was at the highest, and the English at the lowest. I was with the Enemy eleven weeks and five dayes, and not one Week passed without the fury of the Enemy, and some desolation by fire and sword upon one place or other. They mourned (with their black faces) for their own losses: yet triumphed and rejoyced in their inhumane, and many times devilish cruelty to the English. They would boast much of their Victories; saying, that in two hours time they had destroyed such a Captain, and his Company at such a place; and such a Captain and his Company in such a place; and such a Captain and his Company in such a place: and boast how many Towns they had destroyed, and then scoffe, and say, *They had done them a good*

good turn, to send them to Heaven so soon. Again, they would say, *This Summer that they would knock all the Rogues in the head, or drive them into the Sea, or make them flee the Countrey: thinking surely, Agag-like, The bitterness of Death is past.* Now the Heathen begins to think all is their own, & the poor Christians hopes to sail (as to man) and now their eyes are more to God, and their hearts sigh heaven-ward: and to say in good earnest, *Help Lord, or we perish:* When the Lord had brought his people to this, that they saw no help in any thing but himself; then he takes the quarrel into his own hand: and though they had made a pit, in their own imaginations, as deep as hell for the Christians that Summer, yet the Lord hurll'd them selves into it. And the Lord had not so many wayes before to preserve them, but now he hath as many to destroy them.

But to return again to my going home, where we may see a remarkable change of Providence: At first they were all against it, except my Husband would come for me; but afterwards they assented to it, and seemed much to rejoyce in it; some askt me to send them some Bread, others some Tobacco, others shaking me by the hand, offering me a Hood and Scarfe to ride in; not one moving hand or tongue against it. Thus hath the Lord answered my poor desire, and the many earnest requests of others put up unto God for me. In my travels an Indian came to me, and told me, if I were wil-

ling, he and his *Squaw* would run away, and go home along with me: I told him *No*: I was not willing to run away, but desired to wait Gods time, that I might go home quietly, and without fear. And now God hath granted me my desire. O the wonderfull power of God that I have seen, and the experience that I have had: I have been in the midst of those roaring Lyons, and Salvage Bears, that feared neither God, nor Man, nor the Devil, by night and day, alone and in company: sleeping all sorts together, and yet not one of them ever offered us the least abuse of unchastity to me, in word or action. Though some are ready to say, I speak it for my own credit; But I speak it in the presence of God, and to his Glory. Gods Power is as great now, and as sufficient to save, as when he preserved *David* in the Lions Den; or the three Children in the fiery Furnace. I may well say as his *Psal. 107. 12* *Oh give thanks unto the Lord for he is good, for his mercy endureth for ever.* Let the Redeemed of the Lord say so, whom he hath redeemed from the hand of the Enemy, especially that I should come away in the midst of so many hundreds of Enemies quietly and peaceably, and not a Dog moving his tongue. So I took my leave of them, and in coming along my heart melted in tears, more then all the while I was with them, and I was almost swallowed up with the thoughts that ever I should go home again. / About the Sun going down, Mr. Hoar, and my self, and the two
Indians

Indians came to *Lancaster*, and a solemn sight it was to me. There had I lived many comfortable years amongst my Relations and Neighbours, and now not one *Christian* to be seen, nor one house left standing. We went on to a Farm house that was yet standing, where we lay all night: and a comfortable lodging we had, though nothing but straw to ly on. The Lord preserved us in safety that night, and raised us up again in the morning, and carried us along, that before noon, we came to *Concord*. Now was I full of joy, and yet not without sorrow: joy to see such a lovely sight, so many *Christians* together, and some of them my Neighbours: There I met with my Brother, and my Brother in Law, who asked me, if I knew where his Wife was? Poor heart! he had helped to bury her, and knew it not; she being shot down by the boule was partly burnt: so that those who were at *Boston* at the desolation of the *Town*, and came back afterward, and buried the dead, did not know her. / Yet I was not without sorrow, to think how many were looking and longing, and my own Children amongst the rest, to enjoy that deliverance that I had now received: and I did not know whither ever I should see them again. Being recruited with food and raiment, we went to *Boston* that day, where I met with my dear Husband, but the thoughts of our dear Children, one being dead, and the other we could not tell where, abated our comfort each to other. I

was not before so much hem'd in with the merciless and cruel Heathen, but now as much with pittiful, tender-hearted, and compassionate Christians. In that poor, and distressed, and beggerly condition I was received in, I was kindly entertained in severall Houses : so much love I received from several (some of whom I knew, and others I knew not) that I am not capable to declare it. But the Lord knows them all by name : *The Lord reward them seven fold into their bosoms of his spirituals, for their temporals.* / The twenty pounds the price of my redemption was raised by some Boston Gentlemen, and Mr. Usher, whose bounty and religious charity, I would not forget to make mention of. Then Mr. Thomas Shepard of Charlestown received us into his House, where we continued eleven weeks; and a Father and Mother they were to us. And many more tender-hearted Friends we met with in that place. We were now in the midst of love, yet not without much and frequent heaviness of heart for our poor Children, and other Relations, who were still in affliction. The week following, after my coming in, the Governour and Council sent forth to the Indians again; and that not without success; for they brought in my Sister, and Good-wife Kettle: Their not knowing where our Children were, was a sore tryal to us still, and yet we were not without secret hopes that we should see them again: That which was dead lay heavier upon my spirit, than those which were alive

live and amongst the Heathen; thinking how it suffered with its wounds, and I was no way able to relieve it; and how it was buried by the Heathen in the *Wilderness* from among all Christians. / We were hurried up and down in our thoughts, sometimes we should hear a report that they were gone this way, and sometimes that; and that they were come in, in this place or that: We kept enquiring and listening to hear concerning them, but no certain news as yet. About this time the Council had ordered a day of publick *Thanks-giving*: though I thought I had still cause of mourning, and being unsettled in our minds, we thought we would ride toward the *Eastward*, to see if we could hear any thing concerning our Children. And as we were riding along [God is the wise disposer of all things] between *Ipswich* and *Rowly* we met with Mr. *William Hubbard*, who told us that our Son *Joseph* was come in to Major *Waldrens*, and another with him, which was my Sisters Son. I asked him how he knew it? He said, the Major himself told him so. / So along we went till we came to *Newbury*; and their Minister being absent, they desired my Husband to Preach the *Thanks giving* for them; but he was not willing to stay there that night, but would go over to *Salisbury*, to hear further, and come again in the morning; which he did, and Preached there that day. At night, when he had done, one came and told him that his Daughter was come in at *Providence*; Here was

mercy

mercy on both hands: Now hath God fulfilled that precious Scripture which was such a comfort to me in my distressed condition, When my heart was ready to sink into the Earth [my Children being gone I could not tell whither] and my knees trembled under me, *And I was walking thorough the valley of the shadow of Death*: Then the Lord brought, and now has fulfilled that reviving word unto me: Thus saith the Lord, *Refrain thy voice from weeping, and thine eyes from tears. for thy Work shall be rewarded, saith the Lord, and they shall come again from the Land of the Enemy.* Now we were between them, the one on the East, and the other on the West: Our Son being nearest, we went to him first, to *Portsmouth*, where we met with him, and with the Major also: who told us he had done what he could, but could not redeem him under *seven ponnnds*; which the good People thereabouts were pleased to pay. The Lord reward the Major, and all the rest, though unknown to me, for their labour of Love. My Sisters Son was redeemed for *four pounds*, which the Council gave order for the payment of. Having now received one of our Children, we hastened toward the other: going back through *Newbury*, my Husband Preached there on the Sabbath-day: for which they rewarded him many fold.

On Munday we came to *Charlstown*, where we heard that the Governour of *Road-Island* had sent over for our Daughter, to take care of her, being now within

within his Jurisdiction: which should not pass without our acknowledgments. But she being nearer Rehoboth than Road-Island, Mr. Newman went over, and took care of her, and brought her to his own House. And the goodness of God was admirable to us in our low estate, in that he raised up passionate Friends on every side to us, when we had nothing to recompance any for their love. The Indians were now gone that way, that it was apprehended dangerous to go to her: But the Carts which carried Provision to the English Army, being guarded, brought her with them to Dorchester, where we received her safe: blessed be the Lord for it, For great is his Power, and he can do whatsoever seemeth him good. / Her coming in was after this manner: She was travelling one day with the Indians, with her basket at her back; the company of Indians were got before her, and gone out of sight, all except one Squaw; she followed the Squaw till night, and then both of them lay down, having nothing over them but the heavens, and under them but the earth. Thus she travelled three dayes together, not knowing whither she was going: having nothing to eat or drink but water, and green Hurtle-berries. At last they came into Providence, where she was kindly entertained by several of that Town. The Indians often said, that I should never have her under twenty pounds: But now the Lord hath brought her in upon free-cost, and given her to me the second time

time. The Lord make us a blessing indeed, each to others. Now have I seen that Scripture also fulfilled, Deut. 30: 4, 7. *If any of thine be driven out to the outmost parts of heaven, from thence will the Lord thy God gather thee, and from thence will he fetch thee. And the Lord thy God will put all these curses upon thine enemies, and on them which hate thee, which persecuted thee.* Thus hath the Lord brought me and mine out of that horrible pit, and hath set us in the midst of tender-hearted and compassionate Christians. It is the desire of my soul, that we may walk worthy of the mercies received, and which we are receiving. /

*Our Family being now gathered together (those of us that were living) the South Church in Boston hired an House for us: Then we removed from Mr. Shepar's, those cordial Friends, and went to Boston, where we continued about three quarters of a year: Still the Lord went along with us, and provided graciously for us. I thought it somewhat strange to set up House-keeping with bare walls; but as Solomon sayes, *Many answers all things*; and that we had through the benevolence of Christian-friends, some in this Town, and some in that, and others: And some from England, that in a little time we might look, and see the House furnished with love. The Lord hath been exceeding good to us in our low estate, in that when we had neither house nor home, nor other necessities; the Lord so moved the hearts of these and those towards us,*
that

that we wanted neither food, nor raiment for ourselves or ours, *Prov. 18. 24. There is a Friend which sticketh closer than a Brother.* And how many such Friends have we found, and now living amongst? And truly such a Friend have we found him to be unto us, in whose house we lived, viz. Mr. James Whitcomb, a Friend unto us near hand, and afar off.

I can remember the time, when I used to sleep quietly without workings in my thoughts, whole nights together, but now it is otherwayes with me. When all are fast about me, and no eye open, but his who ever waketh, my thoughts are upon things past, upon the awfull dispensation of the Lord towards us; upon his wonderfull power and might, in carrying of us through so many difficulties, in returning us in safety, and suffering none to hurt us. I remember in the night season, how the other day I was in the midst of thousands of enemies, & nothing but death before me: It was then hard work to perswade my self, that ever I should be satisfied with bread again. But now we are fed with the finest of the Wheat, and, as I may say, *With honey out of the rock*: In stead of the Husk, we have the fatted Calf: The thoughts of these things in the particulars of them, and of the love and goodness of God towards us, make it true of me, what David said of himself, *Psal. 6. 6. I watered my Couch with my tears.* Oh! the wonderfull power of God that mine eyes have seen, affording

had

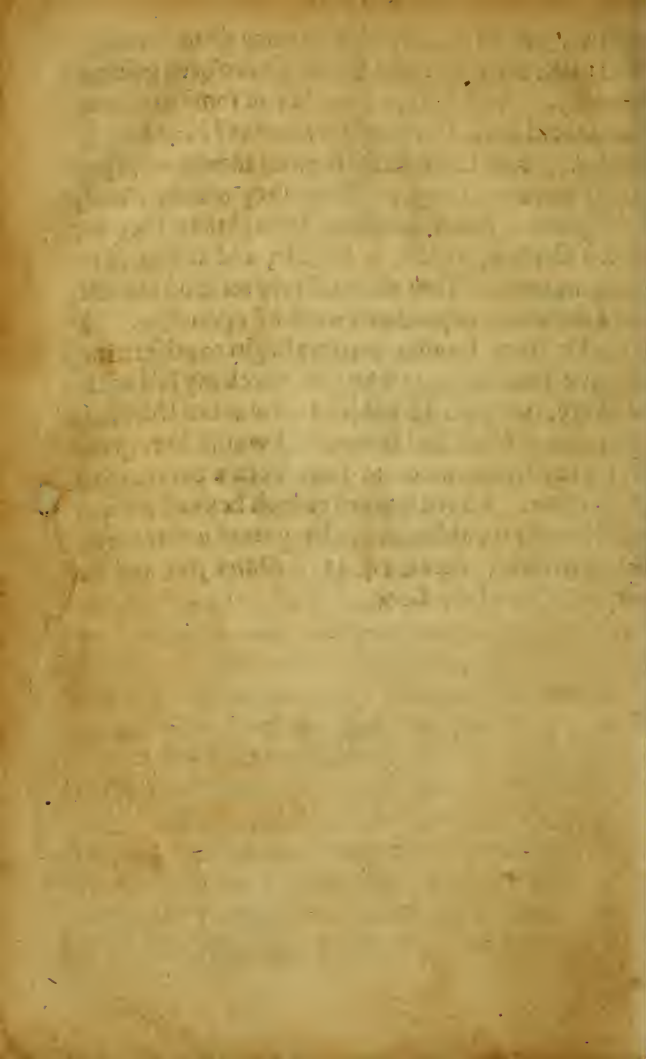
fording matter enough for my thoughts to run in, that when others are sleeping mine eyes are weeping. /

I have seen the extrem vanity of this World: One hour I have been in health, and wealth, wanting nothing: But the next hour in sickness and wounds, and death, having nothing but sorrow and affliction.

*Before I knew what affliction meant, I was ready sometimes to wish for it. When I lived in prosperity; having the comforts of the World about me, my relations by me, my Heart chearfull: and taking little care for any thing; and yet seeing many, whom I preferred before my self, under many trials and afflictions, in sickness, weakness, poverty, losses, crosses, and cares of the World, I should be sometimes jealous: lest I should have my portion in this life, and that Scripture would come to my mind, *Heb. 12. 6. For whom the Lord loveth he chasteneth, and scourgeth every Son whom he receiveth.* But now I see the Lord had his time to scourge and chasten me. The portion of some is to have their afflictions by drops, now one drop and then another; but the dregs of the Cup, the Wine of astonishment: like a sweeping rain that leaveth no food, did the Lord prepare to be my portion / Affliction I wanted, and affliction I had, full measure (I thought) pressed down and running over: yet I see, when God calls a Person to any thing, and through never so many difficulties*

culties, yet he is fully able to carry them through and make them see, and say they have been gainers thereby. And I hope I can say in some measure, As *David* did, *It is good for me that I have been afflicted*: The Lord hath shewed me the vanity of these outward things. That they are the *Vanity of vanities*, and vexation of spirit; that they are but a shadow, a blast, a bubble, and things of no continuance. That we must rely on God himself, and our whole dependance must be upon him. If trouble from smallar matters begin to arise in me, I have something at hand to check my self with, and say, why am I troubled? It was but the other day that if I had had the world, I would have given it for my freedom, or to have been a Servant to a Christian. I have learned to look beyond present and smaller troubles, and to be quieted under them, as *Moses* said, *Exod. 14. 13. Stand still and see the salvation of the Lord.*

FINIS.



T H E

Possibility of Gods For-
saking a people,

That have been visibly near & dear to him

TOGETHER,

With the Misery of a People thus forsaken,

Set forth in a

S E R M O N.

Preached at *Weathersfield*, Nov. 21. 1678.

Being a Day of FAST and HU-
MILIATION.

By Mr. *Joseph Rowlandson* Pastor of the
Church of Christ there. Being
also his last SERMON, *but*
2 Days before he Died. (Pres.)

2 Chron. 15. 2. *The Lord is with you, while ye be
with him, and if ye seek him, he will be found of
you : but if ye forsake him, he will forsake you.*

Hos. 9. 12. *Wo also to them, when I depart from them.*

BOSTON in NEW-ENGLAND
Printed for John Ratcliffe, & John Griffin.

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To the Courteous READER, (especially the
Inhabitants of the Town of *Weathersfield*,
and *Lancaster*, in *New-England*:

Gods forsaking of such as he hath been near to, is
a thing of such weight, and solemnity, and hath
such bitter effects, that it is a meet Subject, (espe-
cially in a dark and mourning day) for Ministers
to speak to, and for People to hear of: that the one
may warn of the danger, and the other avoid the
judgement. As Gods presence is the greatest glory
to a People on this side Heaven, so his absence is the
greatest misery on this side hell; this therefore must
needs be a concerning point, to such as will concern
themselves in their concernments. The ensuing
Sermon will appear a solemn word, if duly conside-
red: the Subject matter is very solemn and weighty;
(Treating of Gods being with, or forsaking a peo-
ple) the time when it was delivered was a solemn
time, (a day of *FAST* throughout the Colonies) the
Reverend Author that Composed, and Preached it;
was one solemn and serious above many others, and
that which adds one great circumstance to its solemn-
ity, is, in that it was the last word he spake to the

To the READER.

World, being but about two days before he left it.
As it is solemn, so 'tis seasonable, and pertinent. It is a time wherein we have given God just cause to forsake us, a time wherein God is threatening to forsake us. A time wherein God hath in some measure forsaken us already, and what can be more seasonable, then to shew the evils that befall a forsaken People, that we may yet be awakened, and return, that the Lord do not forsake us utterly.

As for the Reverend Author, there needs nothing to be said in his commendation, he was known amongst the Churches in the Wilderness, and known to be a workman that needed not to be ashamed. That his Name (which was sometimes precious amongst those that knew him) may not be forgot, and that being dead, he may yet speak to a land that have in some measure forsack their God, and are in danger of being forsaken, is the ground-work of the publishing this small part of his labours. It is commended especially to the perusal of the Inhabitants of Lancaster and Weathersfield: He was a Man well known to you, the one had his Life, and the other his death; and both his loss, you cannot easily forget his name, and 'tis desired that you may not forget the labour and travel, he hath had amongst you; the word which he Preached to you was acceptable whilst he was living, and it is presumed it will be accepted with the like candor now he is dead. Indeed had it been intended, and fitted by himself for the Press, you might have expected, and found it more large

To the READER!

large, and polished; but as it is, it is thought fit
not to be lost, and may be of great use, and benefit,
to open to us the danger of forsaking God, to humble
us for all our coolings, and declinings from God, to
quicken us in our return to, and close walking with
God, and that it may attain this end, is the hearts
desire, and prayer of him, who abundantly wishes
thy welfare, and prosperity in Christ Jesus.

B. VV.

Jeremiah

NY 3

6. 10. 17

10



Jeremiah 23. 33.

And when this People, or the Prophet, or a Priest, shall ask thee, saying, what is the burden of the Lord? thou shalt then say unto them, what burden? I will even forsake you; saith the Lord.

IN the Words, there lies before us, (*First*) A Question, supposed, to be propounded; wherein there is two things: 1. The Questionists, this People, or a Prophet, or a Priest: 2. The Question it self, or the matter of it, *what is the burden of the Lord?* (*Secondly,*) There is an Answer, and a solemn Answer too, which is put into his mouth by the Lord, and which he is to return as the Lords Answer to the Question? *thou shalt then say unto them, what burden? I will even forsake you, saith the Lord.*

In which Answer there is three things.

1. An expression of Indignation, *what burden?*

A 4

2. An

2. An assertion by way of Answer to the question, *I will forsake you.*

3. A Seal of ratification, in the last words, *Saith the Lord.*

God having before dealt with the Pastors, that did destroy, and scatter the flock, as in the beginning of the Chapter, *Wo be to the Pastors that destroy and scatter the sheep of my pasture, & ver. 2 I will visit upon you the evil of your doings, saith the Lord, and also with the false Prophets, that prophesied lies in his Name, as ver. 9. My heart within me is broken because of the Prophets, & ver. 32. Behold I am against them, that prophesie false dreams, saith the Lord, and do tell them; and cause my people to erre by their lies, and by their lightness: which sort of Prophets went without their Commission, as ver. 21. I have not sent these Prophets yet they ran.* He proceeds from the head Rulers, to the people that were seduced by them: for by this means their hands were strengthened in sin, so as that they did not return from their wickedness, as *ver. 14.* It was a usual thing for the Prophets of the Lord, to begin their Sermons (the matter whereof was minatory, wherein the Lord threatned them with just judgements) with that Phrase, *the burden of the Lord,* as will easily appear if you consult, *Isai. 13. 1. & 15. 1. & 22. 1. & 30. 6.* Now they do in the words of the Text, or are supposed in mockery to demand, what *Burden* he had from the Lord, for them. For

For the opening of the words, And : or moreover because he here enters upon new matter : *this* People, or the prophane sort of them, whom the false Prophets had seduced, to which he joyns the Prophet, and the Priest, in that they were alike prophane, as *ver. 11.* for both Prophet and Priest are prophane, yea in my house, saith the Lord: and when Prophets are prophane there is wont to be a pack of them, as *Jer. 5. 31.* The Prophets prophesies falsely, and the Priests bear rule by their means, and my people love to have it so : shall ask thee saying, viz. in a deriding way, not out of a holy end, or desire, *what is the burden of the Lord ? or from the Lord ?* so were the Prophecies stiled, that contained in them, *Threatnings, Judgements, and Plagues,* 2 King. 9. 25. as if they had said, *what hast thou further mischief in thy head to declare ? further woes and Threatnings to pronounce ? hast thou nothing else to prophesie, but Mischief and Calamity ? What is the burden now ?* Thou shalt then say unto them, the Lord knew what they would say to him, and tells him what he should say, by way of reply, *what burden ?* a retorting by way of holy indignation : ask ye indeed *what burden ?* and that in a way of derision ? are you of that strain, and spirit ? I will even forsake you saith the Lord : a burden heavy enough, and you are like to feel it so ere long, heavy enough to break your Backs, to break your Church, and your Common wealth, and to sink

sink your haughty Spirits, when this Burden shall come upon you, in its force and weight.

Doct. That the Lord may even forsake a People that have been near to him, and he hath been near to, though for the Lord thus to do, is as fearful and hideous a judgement as can be inflicted on any People.

The Doctrine is double, it hath two parts :
First, That the Lord may do thus.

Secondly, When he doth, it is a very sad and heavy burden. It may be prosecuted as two distinct points.

1. God may forsake a People that hath been near to him, and that he hath been near to. This may be spoken to in this order.

1. What is meant by Gods forsaking a People.

2. How may it appear that God may forsake, even such a People as the point speaks of ?

3. The Reasons.

4. The use.

1. 1. What doth Gods forsaking mean ? what is intended thereby ?

Sol. It means Gods withdrawing himself, as the Prophe: Hosea praises it, Hos. 5. 6. They shall go with their Flocks and their Herds to seek the Lord, but shall not find him, he hath withdrawn himself from them. They shall seek him, and not find him, and there is a good reason, he hath with-

withdrawn himself, he is gone, in respect of his gracious presence. We must here distinguish betwixt Gods general presence, and his precious presence. In respect of his general presence, he is not far from any one of us, *for in him we live, and move, and have our being, Act. 17.27,28.* We have not only our beginning from, but our being in him. As the beam hath its being in the Sun. Of this general presence of God, we read, *Psal. 139. 7.* There is no flying from it. *Whither shall I go from thy Spirit, or whither shall I flee from thy presence?* In this sense God is every where, as it is *ver. 8, & 9.* *If I ascend up into Heaven thou art there; if I make my bed in Hell, behold thou art there.* He fills Heaven and Earth, and there is no hiding from him, *Jer. 23.24.* *Can any hide himself in secret places, that I shall not see him?* saith the Lord *do not I fill Heaven and Earth?* saith the Lord. He hath Heaven for his Throne, and the Earth for his Footstool, as it is, *Isai. 66.1.* This general presence of God, if believably apprehended, and strongly believed, might be of great use.

But it is not this general presence that is meant: but his especial presence, his favourable and gracious presence, the removing whereof, is that that is intended, by the forsaking that the Text and Point speaks of. God is said to forsake a People two ways.

1. As to Affection.

2. As to Action.

1. As

1. As to Affection, when he discontinues his love to them, when he takes away his love from a people, then he takes his leave of a people. *My mind is not toward this people*, Jer. 15. 1. a very heavy Judgement, and sad removal. Be instructed O *Jerusalem*, *least my Soul depart from thee*.

2. As to Action, when God takes away the signs of his presence.

1. When he takes away merciful and gracious providences, when he carries not towards them as he was wont to do: but vexes them with all manner of adversity, *Deut. 31. 17. I will forsake them, and many evils and troubles shall befall them*: when he ceases to protect them from evils, and enemies, as in times past, and provides not for them, as he was wont to do. 2. When he takes away his Ordinances, and bereaves a people of the glorious things of his house; or take away his spirit from accompanying them, whereby the glory ceases, and the ordinances are rendered ineffectual for the saving good of a people.

II. 2. How may it appear that God may forsake such a People?

It may appear by what God hath threatned. What God hath threatned, to such as the point speaks of, may be inflicted on them: but God hath threatned such judgements to such a people. *My anger shall be kindled against them,*
and

and I will forsake them, as near as they are to me, and as dear as they have been to me, *Deut. 31. 17.* Many such threatnings are found in the Scripture against *Israel*, who are stiled a people near unto him.

In that such as have been near to God, and he near to them, have complained of their being forsaken by God. Thou hast forsaken us, is one of the bitter moans, on record, that the Church of God did often make unto him.

What God hath inflicted on such, may be inflicted on such again; what God hath done to some, he may do to others, in the same state, and relation: for he is unchangeable. Those that were once the only peculiar people of God, near to God, and had God near to them, yet what is is their condition at this day? A forsaken condition, is the condition, of the Off-spring of *Abraham* Gods Friend, a seed whom he had chosen, and hath been so, for above sixteen hundred years. God hath been angry with them, and forsaken them, as they were foretold long ago. How is it with the Churches of *Asia*, that were once famous golden Candlesticks? that had Epistles written to them. Are they not in a forsaken condition? not the face of a Church to be found amongst them.

In that they may do that, which may deserve a forsaking, therefore they may do that which may actually procure it. They may do that
which

which may deserve a forsaking, they may through the corruption and unbelief of their hearts forsake God, and God may in just judgement retaliate, and thereupon forsake them. This is spoken to in the forequoted place, *Deut. 31. 16, 17.* *They will forsake me, and break my Covenant which I have made with them: then my anger shall be kindled against them in that day, and I will forsake them, and hide my face from them.* So again, *2 Chron. 15. 2.* *But if you forsake him he will forsake you;* the first is supposed, if you forsake him; the latter is imposed, he will forsake you: /

III. But why doth the Lord forsake such a People? The Reasons:

1. To shew that he hath no need of any, he hath forsaken many, and may forsake many more, to shew that he hath no need of any. God would have all the world to take notice, (that though all men have need of him, yet) he hath no need of any man.

2. To testifie his Sanctity, and severity against sin. He will not spare them, that have been near him, if they will not spare their sin for him. He is a holy God, and if they will have their sins, and their lusts, and their wayes, and their lovers; he will vindicate his holiness, by inflicting this judgement on them.

3. To be a warning to all that enjoy his gracious presence. That they see that they make much of it, and that they take heed that they do

do not sin against him, and forsake him; and provoke him to forsake them also.

Caut. The point is to be understood of a people that are visibly and externally near and dear to him, and these may be totally and finally forsaken of God: and yet here it must be noted, that God may exercise a deal of patience, and forbearance toward such as he is about to forsake, he did so with the old world, he did so with the *Israelites* of old, he did so with the seven Churches of *Asia*: he is not wont suddenly, and at once to forsake a people, that have been near and dear to him; but he is wont to give them warning, and in patience to bear a while with their frowardness, and wait to see if there be any returning to him, before he doth inflict this heavy and sharp judgement.

Use It serves to admonish us, not to bear our IV
selves too high, upon the account of priviledges. It is a great priviledge to have the Lord near us, and to be near unto him: and some lean upon this though they abide in their sin, *Micah* 3. 10, 11. *They build up Sion with blood, and Jerusalem with iniquity, yet will they lean upon the Lord, and say, is not the Lord amongst us?* But if our deportment be not according to our priviledges, if we do not carry it thereafter, by becoming an humble, fruitful, and holy people; the Lord will bring forth this heavy burden against us, we shall be rejected, and forsaken of the Lord, whatever

ever our external priviledges be.

2. 2. But the second part of the Doctrine; or the second Doctrine may be now spoken to, viz.

That it is the heaviest burden, or the forest of Judgements for the Lord to forsake a people.

There may be two things spoken to in the management of this truth. 1. Arguments to evidence it. 2. The Uses of it.

1. If God hath threatned it as a very sore judgement, then sure it is so. Now when God hath been angry with a people, he hath manifested the same by menacing them with his forsaking them: when he hath been designed to do them a deep displeasure, upon the account of some high provocation he is wont to threaten them, not by taking away this, or that outward comfort from them; but by taking away himself from them.

And that is a woe indeed, a woe with a witness; *Hos. 9. 12.* Yea, woe also to them, when I depart from them: this is the wofullest day that such a people are wont to meet with.

2. Gods forsaking a People is a sore judgement, in that it exposes them to all judgements. Sin is a great evil in that it exposes to all evil, this is a great evil of punishment, in that it exposes to all punishments. If God be gone, our guard is gone, and we are as a City, in the midst of Enemies, whose walls are broken down. Our strength to make resistance, that's Gone, for God

is our strength, as a carcase without life, is a prey, to beasts of prey ; so are a people forsaken of their God, to all their devouring enemies, and to infernal, and cursed spirits : they are exposed to mischief, and the malice of all their malignant enemies : When the Lord had forsaken *Jerusalem*, the *Romans* quickly made a prey of it; when they were destitute of God, their habitation became desolate. There is no Protection to a People, whom the Lord forsakes ; but they are perplexed on every side.

3. Because the evils that are on such, whom God hath forsaken, they are only evils. The Prophet *Ezekiel* sometime hath the expression, *Ezek. 7. 5. Thus saith the Lord God, an evil, an only evil behold is come.* This is such an evil, an only evil to a people. An evil whilst God is present, may have much good in it, the Lord may sanctifie it for abundance of blessing : there is hopes of this whilst the Lord continues amongst them; but if he be gone, it is an only evil, and the evils that come upon them are such, they have nothing but evil in them.

4. Because no creature can then afford any help; for what can creatures do when God is departed, he makes the creatures useful and helpful, but without him they can do us no good, stand us in no stead : they may say to thee as the King of *Israel*, said to the Woman, that cried *Help O King,* He answered, *If the Lord dont*
B
help

help, whence shall I help thee? all creatures may say if God be departed, we cannot help: Nay the very Devil cannot help if God be gone: when God departed from *Saul*, he sought help from the Devil, 1 *Sam.* 28. 15. Wherefore (saith the Devil) askest thou of me? seeing the Lord is departed from thee.

5. It appears to be a sore judgement, by the anguish and distress, that such have been in, that have been sensible that God hath forsaken them. Sin hath shewn in the face of such, and terrified them: Oh the blessed God is gone, and if he is gone, mercy is gone; and Oh for such and such sins, that lie upon me! what shall I do? what a moan have Saints themselves made in such a case? as *David*, *Psal.* 22. 1, 2. *My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me? why art thou so far from helping me? and from the words of my roaring? Oh my God, I cry in the day time, but thou hearest not, and in the night season, and am not silent.* Oh how *Saul* roared out his distress! and that on this account especially, that God was departed from him, not so much that the *Philistines* were upon him, had not God been gone, he could have dealt well enough with them; but here was the misery, and the sting of the misery, *God was departed from him.*

6 It is a sore punishment, in that it is a great part of the punishment of Hell. The essential parts of that punishment, is pain of loss, and sense, and

and the former some reckon the greater.

Use 1. How foolish are sinners that do even bid God depart from them? as we read, *Job 21. 14. Therefore they say unto God, depart from us, for we desire not the knowledge of thy ways.* But do they know what they say? Oh sinners is this your wish? if it be granted it will prove your woe for ever. Happily God's presence is now your trouble; but I tell you his absence would be your torment.

2. See here what an evil it is to forsake God; is it a judgement of judgements to be forsaken of God? surely then it is the sin of sins to forsake him: the evil of punishment is in being left by God, and the evil of sin is in leaving God. What, forsake God, who is our only good? God who made us, and possess us from our beginning, God that hath been the guide of our Youth; that hath been good to us, and fed us all our dayes? *Jer. 2. 19. Know therefore and see, that it is an evil thing and bitter, that thou hast forsaken the Lord thy God.* And there is an aggravation of it, *ver. 17. Thou hast forsaken the Lord thy God, when he led thee by the way.* As a guide to direct thee, as a staffe to support thee, as a convoy to guard thee, as a Father to provide for thee, that thou hast wanted nothing: well may it be said, *how evil and bitter a thing is it, that thou hast forsaken the Lord?* He adds in the 31. verse. *Oh Generation! Generation of what? of what you will; God*
B 2
leaves

leaves a space that you may write, what you please, generation of Vipers, or Monsters, or any thing rather than Generation of Gods people. See ye the word of the Lord, behold your face in that Glass. So your causeless apostasies, have I been a wilderness unto Israel? Have you wanted any thing, Oh ye degenerating crooked, and wilful generation? God may say to such sinners, as *Pharaoh to Hadad*, when he would be gone, *1 King. 11. 22.* But what hast thou lacked with me, that thou seek'st to be gone? what hast thou lacked sinner, that thou seek'st to be gone from the Lord? The sinner must answer with him, nothing howbeit let me go in any wise. He came to him in his distress, and when his turn was answered, away he packs. They forsake because they will forsake.

3. Wonder not that Gods Saints have been so solicitous with him, not to forsake them. Thus *David, Psal. 119 8.* *Oh forsake me not utterly.* He might well be solicitous in this matter, for he understood what it was to be forsaken of the Lord. They press hard with the Lord whatever he doth he would not leave them, nor forsake them, *Jer. 14. 9.* *Leave us not.* And no wonder, there are such means, when the Lord may have seemed, to have forsaken them.

4. If Gods forsaking be so sore a judgement, it should make us more cautelous, and wary lest we pull down this judgement on our heads. Men should

should be afraid of this heaviest of judgements more than the Child of whipping.

5. Let Gods dear ones take heed of concluding against themselves, that they are under this judgement. They are readiest to conclude against themselves, and yet really in the least danger. Thus we read, *Isa. 49. 14. But Zion said, the Lord hath forsaken me, and my Lord hath forgotten me.* But why said Zion so? it was from diffidence: as Saints do not forsake God as others do, *Psal 18. 21. I have not wickedly departed from my God:* so God will not forsake them as he forsakes others not utterly forsake them: His forsaking of his is but temporary, and partial.

But here a question may be moved, what is the difference betwixt a sinner forsaken and a Saint forsaken? for the Lord doth not forsake both alike. 1. When God forsakes his own, yet they cry after him, he withdraws himself from them sometimes, yet so as that he draws their hearts after him as a mother may hide away from her Child, that it may seek and cry the more earnestly after her. 2. They retain good thoughts of him in his withdrawment, or absence. As the Spouse in the Canticles, she calls him her beloved still. As the faithful wife: she retains good thoughts of her husband, and keeps up her respect, though he be gone from home but the wicked when the Lord forsakes them, harbour hard thoughts of him. Is this to serve the Lord, and walk in his wayes? what good have I got by all I have done? see how he hath served me. /

3. They will seek him, till he return again, when the Lord forsakes others, they will seek after him, to make up the want of Gods presence. The Adulteress in her Husband's absence, will seek after other Lovers. The true Saint will be satisfied in nothing else but the Lord till he return. Moreover there is a difference in Gods forsaking the sinner and the Saint, when he forsakes the wicked they are left in darkness: but when he withdraws from his own he leaves some light, whereby they see which way he is gone, he leaves some glimmering light, by which they may follow after him, and find him.

And again, when he leaves his own, yet his bowels are towards them, *Jer. 31. 20. My bowels are troubled for him, I will surely have mercy upon him, saith the Lord.* He hath an eye towards them for much good, in his forsaking them.

Use. 2. Of Exhortation: 1. To thankfulness to God, 'or that he hath not yet forsaken us. Whatever he hath stript us off, he hath not yet stript us off himself, he hath not as yet forsaken us. He might have done it, and have done us no wrongs; but he hath not yet done it.

2. To do our utmost that he may not forsake us. And here there may be added Motives and Means.

1. Consider Gods lothness to forsake us. This is a thing that he is not desirous of, he doth not willingly afflict us with this sort of Affliction, or grieve us with this grievous stroke. God hath

shewed himself loth to depart from those that have departed from him; but have warned them of his displeasure, that they might stay him. It goes near Gods heart to forsake a People that have been near to him. Methinks I hear him saying thus, *How shall I give thee up, Oh New-England!* thence speaking to warn us, of our forsakings of him, and to be instructed, why? least his Spirit depart from us, *Jer. 6. 8. Be thou instructed Oh Jerusalem, least my Soul depart from thee, least I make thee desolate, a land not inhabited.* You may easily stay him, the matter is not so far gone, but you might yet stay him: were we but as loth he should forsake us, as he is to forsake us, he would never leave us. His gradual motions from a people argue his lothness, and unwillingness to leave them.

2. Consider what the Lord is to us, or what relation he stands in to us, while he is with us. He is our friend, we have found him to be so, and a special friend too: men in the World are not willing to forego a Friend, a good Friend: he is as faithful, skilful, powerful, and tender-hearted a Friend as ever a people had, he stuck by us when also we had been in a woe case, *Psal. 124. 1. If it had not been the Lord, who was on our side may Israel now say.* And had not the Lord been on our side, may New-England now say. He is a Father, and a tender-hearted Father, *Isai. 63. 16, Doubtless thou art our Father.* Can children

be willing their Father should leave them? he is a Husband, *Isai. 54. 5. For thy Maker is thy Husband*, a loving, careful, tender husband too; can the Wife be willing to part with her Husband? if the Lord forsake us, we are bereft of our friend, left friendless, he is all friends in one, none can be our friend, if he be not. If he leave us, we shall be as Orphans, for he is related as a Father, and how sad is the state of poor Orphans: and we shall be in a state of Widow-hood, a very solitary, and sorrowful state. He is our guide, and our pilot; what will become of the blind if their guide leave them? and what will become of the Ship if the Pilot desert it? thus the Lord is to his, and well may he say, as *Mic. 6. 3. Oh my People what have I done? or wherein have I wearied thee, or given thee any cause to be weary of me.*

3. Consider there are shrewd signs of Gods intent to leave us, unless somewhat be done. If you enquire what? I Answer:

1. The sins for which God hath forsaken others are rise amongst us. The sins for which God forsook the Jews, are our sins.

1. *Horrid Pride*, *Hos. 5. 5. The Pride of Israel doth testify to his face.* Pride in Parts, and pride of Hearts, pride in Apparel, and Vestures, and in Gestures, and in Looks, how lofty are their eyes! *New-England* is taken notice of abroad; for as proud a People, of a professing people, as the World affords.

When

When a People are humble the Lord will stay with them. If our immunities, which are Gods mercies, puffe us up, God will empty us: he will blast that to us that we are proud of.

2. *Deep and high Ingratitude.* Do you thus requite the Lord? *Dent. 32. 6.* So the Prophet *Hosea* taxes them, *Hof. 2, 8.* God gave her Corn, and Wine, and Oyl, silver and Gold, but she consorted them on Baal. We have been blest but hath God had the glory of our blessings.

3. *Oppression.* *Amos 8. 4.* Ye that swallow up the needy. These Jews were like the Fishes, the greater did devour the less: Some are like wild Beasts, like Wolves that tear off the fleece, and eat the flesh of the Flocks. There is more justice to be found in hell, then amongst some men on earth: for there is no innocent person oppressed there.

4. *Weariness of Gods Ordinances.* *Amos 8. 5.* When will the Sabbath be done? They that are weary of the service of God, and the Ordinances of God, they are weary of God. God indeed hath fed us to the full, as to Ordinances: and we are glutted, and surfeited, and have lost our esteem.

When mens Commodities bare but a little price in a place, they will remove the market ! if Gospel Ordinances are but a cheap commodity, have lost their price, and men are weary of them: God will let out his Vineyard to another People. If our mercies become our burdens, God will ease us of them.

5. Coufenance in mens dealings, making the Ephah small, and the Shékél great, selling the refuse of Wheat, *Amos 8. 5, 6. They pick out the best Grain for themselves, and the refuse is to sell.*

6. Idolatry, which is Spiritual Adultery, and is there nothing of this? chusing of new Gods.

7. Incorrigibleness, or opposition of a spirit of reformation. When God calls to a People to return, by repentance, but they will go on still in their sin : God calls to them by his judgments, and by his Rod ; but they will not hear, as ² *is Jer. 5. 3. Thou hast stricken them, but they have not grieved ; thou hast consumed them, but they have refused to receive Correction : they have made their faces harder than a Rock, they have refused to return.* When it is thus with a People, God will pluck up and be gone ; so *Jer. 7. 13, 14 Because they would not hear, and would not answer the call of God, I will do to this house, as I did to Shiloh, why ? what did the Lord do to Shiloh ? ver. 12. Go to Shiloh, and see what I did to it, for the wickedness of my People Israel. Go, and view it, and you will see what he did, he left tokens of his*

his wrath upon them, and forsook them.

2. Another sign of his intent to forsake us, is, in that he is dealing with us as he is wont to deal with them that he is about to forsake. He takes away those that are most closely with him. He will take away his *Moses's*, those that stand in the Gap, and binds his hands with their Prayers, when he is designed to pour out wrath upon a People: he will remove the lights, when he is about to darken a land. We men send away their Plate and Jewels, and choice things; it intimates their intention of removal.

3. Another sign is our Luke-warmness, and Indifferency in Religion: a usual forerunner of its removal. When a People care not for God, and the things of God, he hath left them in some measure, already; and if that Spirit abide he will not tarry long with them.

Use 1. Of Direction. 1. Examine and humble your selves, for all your departures from God, your forsakings of him; humble your selves for them, confessing with bitterness your evil therein, bemoaning your selves before the Lord upon the account thereof. May the Lord hear his People, from *Dan* to *Beersheba* bemoaning themselves, *Ephraim* like, then the Lord will hear, and have mercy, and not leave us, for his Names sake.

2. Judge your selves worthy to be forsaken, because of your forsaking of him. If you judge
your

your selves worthy to be forsaken, God will not judge you worthy to be forsaken, 1 Cor. 11. 31.

3. Pray the Lord not to forsake you, the Lord is sometimes staid with Prayers: Prayers have prevailed with his Majesty often, and may do again.

4. Forsake your sins, whereby you have forsaken him. Nothing less then this will prevent this mischief, coming upon us. If there be any, either Son or Daughter that will not leave their sins for God, God will leave such.

F I N I S.

ERRATA. In the Preface to Mrs. Rowlandson's Narrative
Page 1. Line 3. for ~~Thursday~~ read *Tuesday*.

